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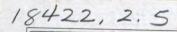
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IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
NUMBER 2

STUDIES

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BY MEMBERS OF

THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

MADISON SEPTEMBER 1918

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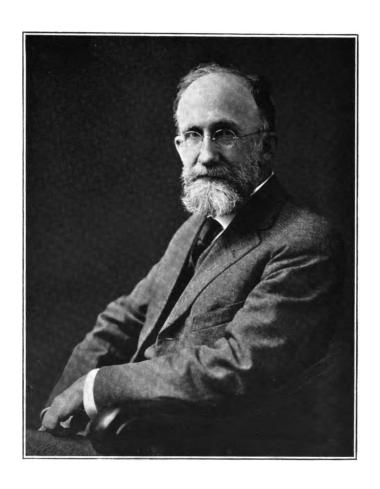
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Fallen on ill days the Scholar: thus it seems
When not to serve alone but save the State
Is the sole object worth a Man's debate,
And world-wide, strength with brute strength tries extremes.
Yet if a Nation's sanction is its dreams,
If, whether defeat or victory its fate,
Only the Soul can make a People great,
Who truly serves this end his cost redeems.

Then courage, friends! Strong may we be and wise, Fervent to keep the lamp of learning lit,
The Spirit's temple open, swept, and fit
For the returning brave! For those who fall
There can suffice but one memorial,—
A Nation worthy of their sacrifice!

J. F. A. PYRE.

THEOLOGY IN PARADISE LOST

R. E. NEIL DODGE

One consequence of the zeal with which Milton served the great Puritan cause has been that even the more illustrious of his critics cannot quite escape the sympathies of partisanship, however negative. Addison, the first in the field, elaborates his eulogy with an apparent detachment from all but literary considerations which is convincing-till we remember that Addison was a Whig and therefore not likely to be disturbed by the poet's political tenets and activities. generations later, the Tory Johnson cannot prevent his rooted dislike of these same tenets and activities from coloring his sober and vigorous portrait of the great Puritan unsympathetically. Two generations later still, another Whig, Macaulay, elaborates another eulogy, in which the old republican poet almost disappears beneath a wash of political, moral, and literary hero worship. And then comes Matthew Arnold. He is far too discreet and conscientious a critic to follow the bent of any such prejudices; but the main battle of his life was against middle class, dissenting Philistinism, whose born representative was Macaulay and whose accredited great poet was Milton, and traces of the old antagonism are clear beneath the surface of A French Critic on Milton. Among his motives for introducing Scherer to English readers one suspects that not the least was the chance to startle the complacency of middle class, dissenting Philistinism in its great poet.

Scherer, though not concerned himself in English partisan warfare, is not wholly free from similar prejudices. In particular, he dislikes the Puritan theology on which *Paradise Lost* is grounded; it touches him too nearly; like many who have abandoned the faith of their younger years, he cannot,

in his mature enlightenment, view that faith, or any like it, tolerantly. For he grew up, it will be remembered, in French Protestantism and was also brought into intimate contact with one of the English varieties; that is, he spent some years, as a boy, in England, in the household and under the instruction of a dissenting minister. It would be cruel to suggest that his later dislike of Puritan theology was the fault of the Reverend Thomas Loader, but the fact is clear that he cannot abide it, and one infers that his manifest lack of sympathy for Milton rests in part upon this dislike. When his essay brings him to the scheme of Paradise Lost, he cannot even be true to his higher principles. "The idea of the poem," he declares, "does not bear examination"; in particular, "its explanation of the problem of evil verges on the grotesque." He tries to save appearances, to be sure, by protesting that whether a poet's theology be obsolete or modern is of course a matter of indifference to the true critic. and that Milton's real fault is in attempting a theological poem; but when he tries to persuade us that Dante's poem is not equally theological, we can see clearly enough where the The theology of Dante's poem is too remote shoe pinches. from his own personal experiences to irritate him; perhaps, too, he thinks of it as more venerable and humane than Milton's "sixteenth century Calvinism." In any case, one great fault of Paradise Lost is that its underlying doctrines and modes of thought are not to his taste.

-Since the days of Arnold and Scherer conditions of partisan feeling have changed. Puritanism has become little more than a name, a convenient term of reproach against moral standards more conservative than one's own. Theology is no longer a live issue; even the Calvinists have forsaken it. One should be able now, therefore, to examine the workings of theology in *Paradise Lost* with little fear of being warped by either personal or party preference.

One must in fairness concede, of course, that Scherer's feeling for Milton and Dante is in great measure that of most moderns. The theology of Dante's poem does not disconcert

us, that of Milton's poem often does. But the reasons are not quite those which Scherer hints or assigns—that Dante's theology is superior, that he does not make it so prominent. that "with admirable tact" he keeps before us "only the sinners and the saved." At least, his reasons, though doubtless true enough, do not carry us very far toward an understanding of the matter, partly because they are propounded with such dogmatic brevity as to appear the utterances of a rival theologian, partly because they are incomplete. In particular, he has not noted that the difference between Dante and Milton is largely one not of tenets but of method and application, that, in other words, Milton's subject forced him to apply theology to an end not required by Dante's. It would be absurd to stress the point against Scherer, who is after all just throwing out "hints toward an essay," but if one wishes to understand the theology of Paradise Lost, the point is of fundamental importance. It becomes obvious as soon as one examines Milton's special problem.

As Bagehot has reminded us, Milton is not simply telling an epic story—the revolt of Satan against God, and his overthrow, the creation of the material universe and of man, Satan's plan of revenge, and the consequent seduction and fall of man, together with the expulsion from Paradise—he is proving a thesis; that is, he is grounding his story on that system of dogmatic theology which, to his mind, explained it and gave it universal significance. Now, it is obvious that such a system, if he really wished to justify the ways of God to men, could not merely be implied; it must somewhere in his poem be set forth explicitly; and the question must early have come to him: where? Conceivably, it might be reserved for the close, when Adam and Eve have fallen and the problem of their future, as continued in the generations of mankind, presses for solution. But obviously, to place it there would be to leave the significance of the bulk of the story in suspense; if the story as it progresses is to have didactic weight, the key to its meaning must be given early. So at least Milton evidently decided. His confidence in the final truth of his

themis being absolute, he could not foresee the difficulty in which the decision was to involve him.

The result is the great scene in Heaven, in Book III. Those who have ventured to criticise it have mostly repeated the objection of Pope against the task's being assigned to God the Father, who is thereby transformed into a "school divine." And God the Father does indeed argue his case against man with a rigor of logic that is fairly appalling. These critics. however, do not take into account the very practical consideration that, at this early date in the history of the universe, there is no one else to do the expounding. Even if the exposition had been deferred to the end of the poem, Milton could not well have delegated it to another, for the truths to be promulgated had to be given the full force of divine authority. Indeed, deplorable as the rôle assigned here to God may be or his being brought openly before us as an actor. one cannot but recognize that Milton chose the most direct and vivid means to his end. The real difficulty does not lie there; it lies in the fact that the whole scheme of original sin and ultimate salvation is settled now, once and for all time, while man is still innocent of offence. God sees Satan nearing the earth and knows, in his infinite foresight, that Satan will prevail: but he does not choose to wait till the hour of Satan's victory and man's fall. To use the language of practical life, he makes all his arrangements beforehand. It is this cool, practical forehandedness of the Father, I believe, which mainly underlies whatever dim dissatisfaction we feel with Milton's justification of the ways of God to men-not, as Scherer would have it, that Milton's "explanation of the problem of evil verges on the grotesque." Scherer was a trained theologian, and therefore presumably a competent judge in this field; most of us others, who cannot tell good theology from bad, are less disposed to dogmatize. This is a tragic and contradictory world and any vigorous attempt to explain it will appeal to our intellectual sympathies. But it is of the essence of such an attempt that it should be the explanation of existing facts, and that is precisely what the theologizing of *Paradise Lost* is not. It is essentially a plan of action.

Dante's subject brought him into no such difficulties. His poem, like Milton's, is grounded in dogmatic theology; but there is this fundamental difference, that it deals with spiritual facts already long in existence. His topic is not the fall of man and the beginnings of our present world: man is already long since fallen and the world old in evil. He does not have to amplify the story of Genesis, and rationalize it; what he sets himself to do is to survey and rationalize the conditions of the present. Hell shows us sin in its varied pathos and hideousness and its power to degrade; Purgatory, the processes of spiritual purification; Paradise, the beatitude of union with God. We may or we may not admire Dante's theory of the phenomena; but the phenomena themselves, in their plain human truth, we cannot deny, and his theory has behind it the power of sincere inquiry, historic and personal. And we may notice in passing that this theology, in whole or in part, is nowhere expounded by God. Dante was under no compulsion to bring God openly before us as an actor. The God of the Divine Comedy does not declare himself, does not explain himself; he is that point of intensest light, at the summit of the empyrean, in the fleeting vision of which the poet's faculties are overwhelmed and the poem reaches a triumphant conclusion. Nor do the angels theologize. All explanation of the ways of God is placed in the mouths of the spirits of men-Virgil, Beatrice, St. Peter, and other human inhabitants of eternity. And this, we feel, is as it should be, for theology is the peculiar concern of man.

How theology will appear when, on the other hand, it is all laid out in advance by a God who means to sit by and see it work is best illustrated by the mission of Raphael, the longest of the episodes in *Paradise Lost*. Raphael visits Adam, tells him the story of Satan's revolt against God and his expulsion from Heaven, describes the creation of the world, and impresses on him the seriousness of his responsibility. Raphael has been sent by God. Why? To warn Adam? To help him resist temptation? But God knows

that Adam will fall and has declared his knowledge to all the host of Heaven. No: God sends Raphael to Adam, as he himself says,

Lest, wilfully transgressing, he pretend Surprisal, unadmonished, unforewarned.

That is, the real object of the mission is to deprive Adam of all possible excuse, to make his condemnation easier for God. In the light of that ugly fact, the visit, with its parade of friendliness, becomes no better than a solemn mockery.

Some such cruelty is of course implicit in Dante's theology as well as in Milton's. To ordinary moderns the old theory of sin and atonement, whether Catholic or Protestant, is sure to seem inhuman. God knew beforehand that man, if he created him, would fall; yet he created man; he therefore, according to any human comprehension of his act, willed sin and misery. Both Dante and Milton accept the premises, and we draw our necessarily finite conclusion. Yet one poet satisfies our imaginative sympathies and the other does not. Can there be any doubt of the reason? Dante is able to let theology function normally and Milton is obliged to give it work for which it was never intended. By bringing God into the field as an epic personage, in control of an action to be elaborated step by step to a foreseen conclusion. Milton inevitably subjects him to human standards, and since the motive ideas of his God are inhuman, he also inevitably brings him and all his work into clash with the instincts of our common humanity.

Whether Dante, had he set himself the same subject as Milton, would have executed it with the same rigor is a topic for ingenious speculation. He had all the sternness of Milton; but he had also a deep vein of human tenderness which Milton lacked and a profounder sense of spiritual mystery, and this last would, in any event, have saved him from another fault which has made the celestial economy of Milton's poem unsympathetic to us. Had he been obliged to recount the war in Heaven, he could hardly have made Heaven the realm of immateriality and light that his own subject allows him

to depict, and his angels could hardly have been the creatures of mere impalpable light that he makes them; one cannot conceive, however, that he would have been content with the Homeric anthropomorphism that satisfies his Puritan successor. For besides the mere difference in quality of genius, he was trained in another school; and when we examine this anthropomorphism of Milton we perceive that it is not merely a condition imposed by the demands of concrete narrative. and accepted by a mind insensitive to mystery, but a settled religious conviction, that it is, in fact, one of the most characteristic marks of the Puritan. Puritanism, that is, with its zeal for primitive truth, revived conceptions and modes of thought which Catholic Christianity had, in a sense, outgrown. To the Catholic, the text of Scripture was not a literal and self-sufficing record; it had been modified by centuries of progressive interpretation, and softened and adapted to the developing sense of a composite world. All this web of historic and often over-subtle thought the Puritan swept away: he went straight back to the Bible as the only ground of truth, and along with the New Testament he set himself to study the Old, which in fact he made his special domain. There he discovered many things which Catholics had forgotten, or explained away. He discovered, for one thing, that angels really eat. When, in Book V of Paradise Lost, Raphael visits Adam, he is invited to share in the noonday meal; and we read:

So down they sat,
And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
The angel, nor in mist—the common gloss
Of theologians—but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate

with more of the physiological process which need not be given. The theologians alluded to were, of course, Catholics, who preferred to interpret angelic eating and digestion figuratively. A detail like this, though it concerns the most important of Milton's angels, one may easily make too much of, especially if one is fond of a jest. Milton's God, how-

ever, is central and unmistakable. He is in good part just the God of the Old Testament, as interpreted by the men who went back to their Bible for guidance and took it literally—the jealous and wrathful God, the God who laughs his enemies to scorn, the God of lightning and darkness, the God of thunder and trumpets. Raphael is again our best witness. He was not present at the creation of Adam; for, says he,

I that day was absent, as befell,
Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion toward the gates of Hell,
Squared in full legion (such command we had)
To see that none thence issued forth a spy
Or enemy, while God was in his work,
Lest he, incensed at such eruption bold,
Destruction with creation might have mixed.

A God whose temper is so hasty and uncontrollable that he must set special guards upon it whenever an outbreak might do regrettable damage carries us far back indeed from "the love that moves the sun and the other stars." If he really carried us back to the beginnings, we might be content to forget the God of Dante; but he does not; he is in fact neither the new nor the old. For, trained from boyhood in all the intellectual arts of antiquity and the Renaissance, Milton was by that very training unfitted to command those primitive conceptions of Divinity that are so impressive in the Pentateuch or the Psalms, and when, as a convinced Puritan, he tried to give them place in the person of his new God, he spoiled not only them but those other conceptions (which he could not do without) which were the product of a rationalizing Christianity.

If, on the one hand, however, Milton's theology and the demands of his epic narrative throw into high relief ideas that we cannot now sympathize with, and thereby diminish the appeal of his poem, on the other hand they underlie the creations that have made it immortal. For if theology be the science of God, it is also, by implication, the science of the Devil, and what the Devil has been to the fame of *Paradise Lost* is beyond reckoning. Even the anthropomorphism that

is so dissatisfying in Heaven takes on new and wonderful life in Hell and its inmates, and the demands of the epic action, which make God intolerable, give Satan free play for energies that are essentially human and inspiriting. It is at this point that Scherer is most likely to irritate us. He has nothing to say but that the character of Satan is "incoherent" and based on "a contradictory idea: for it is contradictory to know God and yet attempt rivalry with him"which is quite true as an intellectual proposition, but which no more accounts for Satan than it would for Iago. If there is an objection to be made against Satan, it is that his solitary grandeur overbalances the poem and, in the absence of any true rival, diverts our sympathies from the end that Milton proposed. Milton, in fact, was in the grip of epic necessity. He had conceived of the fall of man as revenge taken by Satan upon God for having been thrown out of Heaven, and this idea necessarily gave Satan the chief epic rôle. For the essence of the epic is action. God and the Son, to be sure, do, in a sense, act: they suppress Satan's revolt; they create the physical universe; they punish disobedient man; but they do not, they cannot, like Satan, set themselves a definite task, face incalculable difficulties with cool alert resolution, and carry it through to success. The scheme of salvation which they devise is not a true task and is moreover matter for action in the dim future, not in the epic present. The angels, of course, are altogether out of the reckoning: as mere executors of God's orders, they are forever debarred from individual initiative. Nor can Adam and Eve act to any true epic purpose; they have nothing to achieve; they can only resist without aggression. Satan alone has a definite object to work He alone has practical difficulties to face, has to struggle and persevere. That he should have an epic interest for us far beyond that attainable by the other personages of the story was inevitable.

Milton's problem was not unlike that which Shakespeare would have had to face if he had tried to write Othello, leaving out the Moor. Imagine the husband of Desdemona a kind of Roderigo, a mere cowardly dupe. What would be

the result? Why, Iago, being the only character of real decision and force, would inevitably rouse a kind of sympathetic admiration. In the tragedy as we have it, what keeps Iago in his proper place is the commanding and pathetic figure of Othello himself, a born leader and man of action, passionate and generous, the victim not of ignoble unintelligence but of manly simplicity of mind. *Paradise Lost* lacks an Othello.

But Satan has a higher claim on our attention than mere epic importance: he is the greatest embodiment in English poetry of one eternal type of the human spirit—the rebel. On this point, Milton could hardly have guessed the extraordinary future of his creation; for the rebel, as a human type entitled to respect and often to sympathy, was not recognized in Europe till the period of the French Revolution. Cromwell and the Puritans might be rebels, but only in the eyes of the Royalists: in their own eyes they were liberators. The term "rebel" was in itself a term of reproach, and was to remain such till the days of Byron. Milton, therefore, would be not a little perplexed at our strange modern sympathy with Satan, which to him would be almost incomprehensible. But he was a great artist and he had a theme of immense new possibilities, and whether or not he fully understood their implications, he set himself to work them out with all the power which had been accumulating in him during his long years of training for the highest poetic service. The most important of those possibilities was Satan. To the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (though the Renaissance did not much believe in him) the Devil had been a being primarily ugly and malicious, a being whose power lay altogether in deceit or a kind of sordid violence-monstrous and ignoble. That is the Devil of Dante and Tasso, not very remote from the vulgar Devil of the mystery plays and of mediaeval sculpture, who has survived in the folk poetry of Burns. Milton saw that the Devil of Paradise Lost, who was to wage war in Heaven on God and to seek in Hell some means of avenging his overthrow, could not be such a misshapen and degraded creature. His original sin was pride, his

crime open rebellion, and after his overthrow he could not for a time be "less than archangel ruined." To whatever meanness he might ultimately sink, he must, in the early days of his evil, possess a grandeur of mind commensurate with his offence. To belittle him would be to belittle God. On this conception, hitherto unrealized in poetry, the imagination of Milton fastened with unforgettable power. In the vague and terrible landscape of Hell the figure of Satan emerges from among his lesser companions as the unmatchable type of leader in a lost cause; for what merely human leader can be placed beside him? The qualities essential to his rôle are stamped upon his speech like the characters on a coin. First, resolution, without which no leader, especially in a lost cause, can keep his followers in heart.

What though the field be lost? All is not lost, the unconquerable will, And study of revenge, immortal hate, And courage never to submit or yield, And what is else not to be overcome. That glory never shall his wrath or might Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace With suppliant knee, and deify his power Who, from the terror of this arm, so late Doubted his empire—that were low indeed; That were an ignominy and shame beneath This downfall.

But resolution in the face of disaster is not all that a leader needs. Moloch is resolute enough: he is not only ready but eager for a second fight with God, and sees in hell-fire only a new weapon that may be turned against their conqueror. For Moloch is mere brute courage, without intelligence. What distinguishes Satan is that, together with this indispensable resolution, he has the genius to conceive new policies in place of the old. He has fought God openly for the monarchy of Heaven, and failed. Henceforth he will seek a monarchy of his own, grounded on antipathy to God. "Of this be sure," is his reply to the desponding Beëlzebub,

To do aught good never will be our task, But ever to do ill our sole delight, As being the contrary to his high will Whom we resist. If then his providence Out of our evil seek to bring forth good, Our labour must be to pervert that end, And out of good still to find means of evil.

While there was a chance of gaining dominion in Heaven, he bent his energies to that end; but, Heaven lost and God supreme in good, he can yet find room for himself and work for him and his. "Space may create new worlds" for them to occupy; and as for good, if that is usurped by his enemy, there remains evil. This sublime energy of will and intellect, springing with undiminished elasticity out of utter ruin, rousing and inspiriting a host of dejected followers, and guiding them on to a new venture, raises Satan to an undisputed place among the very greatest creations of poetry. So profound is the impression that he makes upon us in the early books that when dissimulation and fraud begin to undermine his grandeur, we cannot quite believe that the poet is telling us the truth about him. Like Byron, we can fully realize only the "archangel ruined."

The personality of Satan, however, is not the only personality in Hell. One of the curious aspects of the poem, indeed, is the contrast in this matter between Hell and Heaven. There are no personalities in Heaven, nor could there be; for to attribute a specific personality to God would be unthinkable, and as for the angels, since they have little or nothing to do but to execute orders, they have no fair opportunity to assert themselves. Hell, on the other hand, is full of real persons. It is, in fact, our best reminder of how much the human individuality that we see in the world about us is the gift of original sin. The grand debate in the second book has been chiefly praised for its eloquence, and every critic refers to Lord Brougham's remark that here we have the very finest models in English of great parliamentary oratory. But what is even more striking is the characters of these successive speakers. They rise before us as eternal types of humanity.

There is Moloch, who cannot understand that they have been hopelessly beaten, whose one idea is to begin another war. He is the blind fighter, who never learns. There is Belial, interested above all else in the life of the mind, who can expose with merciless satire the folly of Moloch's plan, but who has no plan of his own except acquiescence in the inevitable. He is the Hamlet among these devils—the modern "intellectual"—and he is not popular. There is Mammon, essentially practical, who sees the insanity of renewing fight with an omnipotent God, who sees also that Hell is a place of great material resources, and who wishes to develop those resources. It would not be difficult to name distinguished contemporaries of whom he is the great archetype. And so they rise, one after the other, each representative of a permanent human point of view and a permanent human bent. Without them the towering personality of Satan would lack its natural setting.

At this point we seem to be remote indeed from the more obviously theological considerations with which we started. The remoteness may serve to remind us that in a poem like Paradise Lost no single element can be isolated. We may think of Milton's theology as no more than a set of doctrines that give a rationalistic bent to his story, affect its general design teleologically, and account for such details as the character and rôle of the Son; but such a conception is incom-For the truth of course is that theological convictions, like any others that touch life, though in origin perhaps intellectual, must ultimately, when they have taken firm root in a man's mind, flower in the workings of his imagination and, if he be a poet, spread incalculably over the soil of his poetic creation. In this sense, the theology of Paradise Lost is all but coextensive with the epic. To discuss it at length has been beyond my present purpose, which is rather to show that if, to our modern apprehension, it has issued in a God who is a kind of super-Teutonic Junker and in a Heaven which is a kind of glorified Berlin, it has also helped to shape the most memorable group of figures in the poem, the indomitable Satan and his fellow sufferers in the great Lost Cause.

THE PROSE STYLE OF JOHNSON

WARNER TAYLOR

"Style" is one of those unapproachable words-like "romance" or "beauty" or "religion"—that are ordinarily only partially defined. The varying notions of critics are bafflingly complex, and ordinarily fail of synthesizing the many implications involved in the term. "The style is the man," says "The web, then, or the pattern; a web at once sensuous and logical, an elegant and pregnant texture: that is style." declares Stevenson. The one is interested in the composer and will look for a revelation of personality; the other will demand beauty in the medium, whether the character and temperament of the author can be glimpsed between the lines or not. Both are right, for they are describing the same wall from different sides. But perhaps if we admit with Stevenson, as, indeed, we must, that beauty and clarity are concomitants of memorable style, and with the Frenchman, though here with reservations, that a writer's personality will find expression in his prose, we may discover it advisable to construct a new definition including these three elements. Style, then, I believe—though this paper has to do with but one phase of the definition—is the pleasing and accurate expression of thought and may or may not, but usually will, reflect the individuality of the writer. It is when we recall the objectivity of even the higher journalism of the present in comparison with the subjectivity of such writers as Sir Thomas Browne or Charles Lamb, that we admit how variable a quantity is the presence or absence of a breathing author. Now these three elements, beauty, clarity, and the living presence of the writer, may best be discussed under two main heads.—the first, content or subject matter, being concerned among other things with logical clearness in presentation and with the author's revelation of himself; the second, form or

structure, having to do with all technical considerations of sentence architecture, for the sentence is the unit of style. With the first belong, on the one hand, all those elements of beauty or decoration—rhythm, alliteration, cadence, arsis and thesis, all considerations of diction,—and on the other, such imaginative flashes and such personally figurative use of language as may serve to disclose the temperament and quality of the writer. With the second belong all matters concerning parallelism, balance, the devices of the coupling and the triad, periodicity, looseness, predication,—all the problems of construction. In the main this discussion will concern itself with these last phases of Johnson's style,—though indirectly with several aspects of the former, since the esthetics of expression and the cast of the sentences through which appeal is gained are inter-dependent.

And furthermore it will be a chronological examination of his style from this point of view in the hopes of making clear the extent to which it varied from the earliest analyzed item, The Life of Sarpi, 1738, to those final Lives of the Poets which were written in 1781. In the case of most men such an analysis would profit little, style with so many writers, save for the subtle changes that maturity or continuous application induce, being fixed throughout their careers. It would avail little to subject Addison, Steele, or Swift to such a study: they were in the beginning as they are in the end. And even with Macaulay, or Pater, or Lamb, in whom changes may be observed as development came, the variations are too slight for registration by the heavy hand of mechanics—and mine here is such.

But Johnson is different. To me he is one of the paradoxes of literature. For we are wont to say that old age is conservative, youth radical and impressionistic; that you cannot teach ageing Bruno new tricks. But Johnson learned them, and at three score and ten became a radical. A mere surface comparison between the expository papers of The Rambler of 1750 and the expository portions of the Lives of the Poets of 1781, or between the narrative lives of 1740 and the narrative sections of the Lives of the Poets, will establish the fact. The change was evolutionary rather than instant;

each lustrum added an element of nervous strength and swiftness. Even to the end, of course, there was over-much of artifice, but the difference in force was pronounced. One gathers the impression from most brief and elementary criticisms that the learned Dictator was a dogmatist—and dogmatists are slow of change,—but in his style at least, this will not hold. However prejudiced or intolerant his points of view, he effectively altered the manner of their presentation.

In order to define the limits of my analysis I am entering a sequential list of his major works:

Eminent Lives

a-1738-1751

b-1756-1763 (So divided for stylistic reasons.)

Parliamentary Debates, 1740-1742

Sermons, (finished before 1753)

The Rambler, 1750-1752

The Adventurer, 1753-1754

The Dictionary, 1755

The Idler, 1758-1760

Rasselas, 1759

A Journey to the Hebrides, 1775

Lives of the Poets, 1777-1781

With the Adventurer papers, with Rasselas, and with A Journey to the Hebrides I have nothing to do. The contributions to Hawkesworth's Adventurer are merely continuations of the Rambler methods; Rasselas and A Journey to the Hebrides are narratives, and it has seemed wisest to analyze his narrative style in connection with the biographies he wrote. The Parliamentary Debates and the Sermons will be touched on only incidentally while considering the style of the general Rambler period. My chief concern lies with the Eminent Lives, The Rambler, The Idler, and the Lives of the Poets. In the main, 1755, the date of the Dictionary and the Chesterfield letter, may be accepted as the pivotal year. Before that time the vast majority of the sentences he wrote were heavy beyond need. The labors of the second period fall into two major divisions: the Idler papers and

the Lives, the former relatively light in relation to the weight of *The Rambler* and relatively heavy in comparison with the final biographies. His mastery of forceful English, then, was in direct ratio to his years.

I have hinted that my method was to be mechanical and statistical. This is due to a fault in my nature, for I have ever loved to see the 4-ness of 2+2 established. I have taken no pre-assumptions to my analysis: I recall from my boyhood the aged saying that, although figures do not lie, it is not beyond the powers of prevarication to figure; and I was afraid lest pre-conceived bias might lead—unwittingly, for I have a conscience—to the selection of passages aptly illustrative of my theories. In consequence I have been meticulous (the word is a popular one with scholars) in choosing. as well as within me lay, sections typical of the period and the type. Even so, human nature is weak, and statistics not wholly conclusive. I claim not definitiveness, merely a fairly accurate establishment of tendencies. And I crook the knee of humility in the face of the scoffing abroad in the land against the word-counting proclivities of contemporary scholarship.

Johnson's vocabulary, with its reputation for formidable polysyllables, has long been the sport of the idle. No criticism of his style, however brief, has ever forgotten to comment on its "ponderosity." And all this until it is frequently believed that his little fishes, to the last and least of them. talk like Leviathan; and that his works are a thesaurus of odd and whirling words almost beyond Webster, drawn by force of research from the uttermost nooks and crannies of his own dictionary. Now in all this, of course, there is much truth. But the whole tale is never told when one merely turns his pages—as one easily may—and unearths such a list of musty curiosities as the following: proemial, momentaneous, interstitial, supplantation, supervenient, annuitant, obtunds, pravity, divaricate, amendations, propagate, procerity, and operose. No one whose sense of humor was to be relied on in moments of temptation would use these words in popular essays and biographies in a language rich in humble but accurate synonyms. Their occurrence, however, is far rarer than is generally supposed, and he showed a decided bent towards relative simplicity as he entered on the composition of the *Lives of the Poets* in his final literary period. *The Rambler*, transgressor in so many regrettable matters, is the chief repository for his weighty Latinity. In the last issue of this periodical he freely states his early policy towards words, though with little recognition of its danger:

When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarized the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas, but have rarely admitted any words not authorized by former writers; for I believe that whoever knows the English tongue in its present extent, will be able to express his thoughts without further help from other nations.

Perhaps it was this tendency to familiarize the terms of philosophy that caused him, in that well-known instance, to paraphrase his incisive comment, "The Rehearsal has not wit enough to keep it sweet," into that phraseology nearer to his heart's desire and further from our own, "It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction."

He was all his life a preacher of sermons, and in the pre-Dictionary period a preacher from a pulpit draped in black-stately and forbidding. Lacking wholly Addison's turn for raillery or Ruskin's for eager denunciation, he was oppressive in his solemnity. His words issued into being with spondaic deliberativeness without the lightness of touch to be marked in a Spectator paper or the power of the Crown of Wild Olive. They are lead poured into a mould,—the mould of his Rambler sentence. And it seems to me that they are forced into disrepute from their identification with this very formula, the labored rhetoric of which is retroactive on the units composing it. Matthew Arnold says: "The reproach conveyed in the phrase 'Johnsonese English' must not mislead us. It is aimed at his words, not at his structure. In Johnson's prose the words are often pompous and long, but the structure is always plain and modern." Now I think the two things go together, words and structure. Even an assemblage of humorists in the setting of a twilight cathedral will take on unwonted solemnness. His words, of

course, are long, longer than they should be, long enough to support the charge of Latinization. But the sentence of the *Rambler* period with its formal devices of balance and counterbalance would have reduced the merriest vocabulary to seriousness.

But we do not have to theorize altogether on this matter of the Latin element, because the facts of the case are available. Before I advance them, however, I should like to make a point or two in relation to word-length. It is axiomatic that Anglo-Saxon words approach the monosyllabic and that those from the Latin tend toward the polysyllabic. It is just as obvious to say that Anglo-Saxon is the vocabulary of the heart and home, Latin of the intellect. My childhood Robinson Crusoe in Words of One Syllable drew almost wholly on our native stock; an advanced ornithology I reviewed last week was just as pronouncedly Latin. Wordsworth's We Are Seven averages 1.18 syllables per word; a section from James's Psychology that I have in mind, 2.07. Between the two styles lies the ocean. I have come to the conclusion through analyzing many passages that normal expositionby which limitation I mean to exclude simple personal prose on the one hand and technical prose on the other-will fall between 1.45 and 1.50 syllables per word, and that normal descriptive or narrative prose will find its limits between 1.30 and 1.40. Strange as it may seem there is an appreciable difference between 1.30 and 1.40, or between 1.40 and 1.50, and even the inexperienced can pronounce on the difference between 1.30 and 1.50. The former derives largely from the Anglo-Saxon, the latter from the Latin. The following passages lie at the extremes. The first is from the prose of Lincoln and averages 1.07; the second is the solemn pronunciamento of an Illinois high school and covers—successfully—its aims. It averages 2.00 syllables to the word.

I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right and part with him when he is wrong.

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The same polar extremes may be illustrated by the two appended sentences from Kipling and Poe, both extracts from descriptive sketches: that from the *Jungle Book* averages 1.18 and displays the strength of the short, specific word; that from Poe's story *The Elk* averages 2.00 and exemplifies the unsuitability of Latin for pictorial prose.

The green growths in the sides of the ravines burned up to broken wires and curled films of dead stuff; the hidden pools sank down and caked over, keeping the last least footmark on their edges as if it had been cast in iron; the juicy-stemmed creepers fell away from the trees they clung to and died at their feet; the bamboos withered, clanking when the hot winds blew, and the moss peeled off the rocks deep in the Jungle, till they were as bare and as hot as the quivering blue boulders in the bed of the stream.

Its banks are generally, indeed almost universally precipitous, and consist of high hills, clothed with noble shrubbery near the water, and crowned, at a greater elevation, with some of the most magnificent forest-trees of America, among which stands conspicuous the Liriodendron Tulipfera.

In this same manner the extremes of Johnson's own style may be fairly well shown. The first I quote, a well-known leaden scrap from Rasselas, with a 1.87 average, is the kind of passage so commonly quoted against his sanity; the second is a typical section from his life of Dryden in the Lives of the Poets. It averages considerably below his norm, with 1.38, but is fairer as an example of his final style because its counterpart is of far more frequent occurrence.

"Dear Princess," said Rasselas, "you fall into the common errors of exaggeratory declamation, by producing, in a familiar disquisition, examples of national calamities and scenes of extensive misery, which are found in books rather than in the world."

They have not the formality of a settled style, in which the first half of a sentence betrays the other. The clauses are never balanced, nor the periods modelled; every word seems to drop by chance, though it falls into its proper place. Nothing is cold or languid; the whole is airy, animated, and vigorous; what is little,

is gay; what is great, is splendid. He may be thought to mention himself too frequently; but while he forces himself upon our esteem. we cannot refuse him to stand high in his own.

Johnson's word-length, as a glance at the following table will show, varied little. Nevertheless one interesting fact is to be noted: where the Rambler average was nearly 1.57, that of The Idler was 1.52—at least a ponderable decrease. There are in The Idler, too, fewer freakish words—in the Lives of the Poets fewer still, another example of the general lightening of his prose. His biographical narrative changed little in word-length during the half-century of his writing. His pure narrative of the Rasselas and Journey to the Hebrides type, I have not examined. The weight of the expository sections from the Lives is due to the need for critical nomenclature, always Latin in derivation.

TABLE I

		Words Involved	Word Length
Damble	1st 10	15,084	1.54
Rambler	Last 10	12,988	1.59
	1st 15	13,894	1.51
Idler	Last 16	13,638	1.53
The of the Books	Narrative	16,598	1.53
Lives of the Poets	Exposition	16, 381	1.50
Eminent Lives ²		15.036	1.58

In determining word-length I have considered only such syllables as one would pronounce in speaking or reading aloud. Such a method, disregarding silent syllables, would record as two-syllable words "business" and "involved." I have counted as well all "framework" words—articles, conjunctions, and prepositions.

It is for purposes of comparison that the accompanying list of writers with their word-lengths in one or more of three general fields of writing is included. All entries involve an examination of from 2500—5000 words chosen from the

Sections from the lives of Addison, Prior, Pope, Cowley, Milton, Waller, Butler and Dryden.

Sections from the lives of Savage, Drake, and Boerhaave.

representative and typical sections of each author. It will be seen that Macaulay and Johnson have about the same word-length, and that De Quincey is heavier than either. Johnson seems to outweigh both for the reason that he lacked the power Macaulay possessed to energize his words, and De Quincey's to give them distinction.

	Exposition	Biographical narrative	Description
Bacon	1.39		
Kipling	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		1.35
Stevenson	1.44	1.44	1.38
Ruskin	1.51		1.38
Macaulay	1.57	1.53	
De Quincey	1.61		
Johnson	1.55	1.53	

The rhythm of Johnson's prose is well worthy of discussion. Prose rhythm, as I understand it, when memorable for excellence, is based on the occurrence in pleasing combination of accented and unaccented syllables, "the alternate swelling and lessening of sound at certain intervals." It differs from poetic rhythm in that there is no tendency to force the natural stress of the voice to conform with any rigid metrical system; for phonetic rhythm or stress or natural accent and thought development go hand in hand in prose. true in verse as well, though in varying degrees-from doggerel, where there is found what never should occur in normal verse, complete identification of natural accent with the foot-accent of the system of versification—All the king's horses and all the king's men—from doggered, then, to the freer, higher verse of Shakespeare and Milton, where the genius of the poetry lies in word-groups that over-ride the metrical system rather than in feet uniformly accented— Of Man's first disobedience and the fruit, for instance, a line expressing itself through three such word-groups. genius of prose, on the side of rhythm, lies in the word-groups too, though, Mr. Thompson-Seton and the Dickens of the

death-bed scenes to the contrary, no metrical system should obtrude, like an undercurrent affecting the surface of the word-flow, to confuse the boundaries of the two forms. seems to me that within the sentence there are two principles underlying the quality of the rhythm,—for one thing the happy selection in the separate thought-concepts or phrases and clauses of words that blend with themselves to form a euphonic rhythm-group-for another, the welding together of these sentence units into the larger harmony of the sentence This last is a problem of arrangement, of an effort properly to synthesize, and failure is often attributable to weak period endings. If either principle be violated, the sentence cannot be a perfect rhythmic unit, for perfection will not exist in the face of imperfection. The following sentence from Carlyle, in my judgment, sins against both laws:

What Stoicism soever our Wanderer, in his individual acts and motions may affect, it is clear that there is a hot fever of anarchy and misery raging within; coruscations of which would flash out; as indeed how could there be other?

In this period, up to the moment of the italicized section, the general movement is iambic and anapestic accompanied by euphonic coalescing of word-group with word-group. But the element "of which would flash out" is a rebel against the general rhythmic scheme, and runs counter to the first principle. The final clause "as indeed how could there be other?" is anti-climactic and fails to coordinate the various sections to bring about the swelling harmony of a memorable period.

Now notice this sentence from Johnson's Rambler:

Eminence of station, greatness of effect, and all the favours of fortune, must concur to place excellence in public view; but fortitude, diligence, and patience, divested of their show, glide unobserved through the crowd of life, and suffer and act, though with the same vigour and constancy, yet without pity and without praise.

Here, surely, there is satisfaction of both principles. Never a cacophonous phrase, never a hitch; always perfect concordance, always perfect felicity. The ebb and flow of the current is easy and equable. The bed of the stream, the mould of the sentence, lies in a placid meadow, straight and shapely, far from the tortured mountain torrent of the soaring Carlyle in his greater moments. And this sentence is typical enough of his early manner. He is one of the most rhythmical of our stylists in this his first period of before 1755.

Not one of the most subtly rhythmical, however. knows nothing of the hidden and unescapable magic of De Quincey or Pater or Sir Thomas Browne, who weave their lovely webs on wizards' looms; who reject, when they are most memorable, the obvious devices of couplings and triads, of like-placed nouns with equal adjectives, of parallelism and balance and antitheses and labored series. At least on the skillful employment of such methods their power does not They snatch graces beyond rhetoric. But Johnson's style derives far more from thinking closely on the nature of art than from a surrender to the simple artlessness of nature. No man of English letters, always excepting Lyly and Swinburne and Macaulay, depends more on a knowledge of how to produce rhythmical effects. He understands that when word balances word, phrase phrase, clause clause, that when all the elements are knit into a pattern that pleases our sense of articulation and proportion, a swelling, harmonious sentence will stand as a memorial to the effort. It is on such principles that the rhythm of Johnson's exposition relies during the half-century of his writing.

The rhythmical movements of the prose of his early and late periods varied greatly however—and this is an important point. We are given in general to thinking too much of the somber stateliness of the movement of the Rambler period, of the owl-like solemnity of the preacher-prose of the early manner. It is found throughout The Rambler and the Sermons, even throughout the Parliamentary Debates, where the speeches are supposed to issue extemporaneously from any and all contenders for political principles on the floor of the House. Later in life when the biographies of the poets occupied him, and when, having ceased to ascend the

pulpit before he dipped his pen, he stopped preaching in favor of vigorous analysis, the genius of his rhythm changed. Incisive comment displaced heavy moralizing. The prose became vital and nervous. All the old devices remained, even more pronouncedly often, as I hope to show later, but the sentences became shorter, the movement tense and energetic. Perhaps two brief quotations will serve to establish the difference.

The philosopher may very justly be delighted with the extent of his views, and the artificer with the readiness of his hands; but let the one remember, that, without mechanical performances, refined speculation is an empty dream, and the other, that, without theoretical reasoning, dexterity is little more than a brute instinct.

Rambler, No. 9.

But original deficience cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. Paradise Lost is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets to take up again. None ever wished it longer than it is. Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure. We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation; we desert our master, and seek for companions.

Milton, from Lives of the Poets

In both of these there is much artifice. But the first has about it a slow, funereal dignity. The grave procession of its elements, rounding out into full harmony, has the beauty of perfect form. That one grows weary of monotonous motion, unrelieved by darting flights, must stand as the chief arraignment of the method. The second is impetuous and It is strongly journalistic. swift and resourceful. energizes itself through inward urging. It is eager, impatient. Had Johnson composed it in 1750, I believe that a lethargy would have subdued its speed. Had he written the Rambler sentence in 1780, perhaps its pace would have quickened. But this is always to be remembered: Johnson the moralist was ever in danger of heaviness. Lightness characterizes his expository style only when moral and ethical issues were not involved.

Before turning to what, apart from considerations of

vocabulary and rhythm, I am most interested in, a chronological study of Johnson's sentences. I should like to enter a table presenting a survey of the varying lengths of the Rambler and Idler papers together with the statistics relating to the gradual though regular decrease in his sentence length. Deeming the Essays of greater value for critical study than the Letters, I have separated the two types. In like manner, though for other reasons, throughout the various phases of my analysis, I have kept expository and narrative writing carefully apart. It has always been assumed that the papers of the Rambler and Idler periods, though differing widely one from the other both in form and content, vary little in length among themselves. But this is not so. The expository Rambler papers of the first cycle of ten averaged 1481 words each, those of the fourteenth cycle, 1260. The Idler issues varied by the difference between 975 words and 876 from the first to the seventh and last cycle. The sentence-length extremes are even more marked in the case of the earlier publication, the periods of the first cycle averaging 50.3, those of the last, 37.4. The decrease in the Idler period, very naturally, was less—between 34.7 and 32.4. That the Rambler sentence should have been curtailed by 25.6 per cent. and that it should have approached so closely the sentencelength of the opening Idler essays, is noteworthy. The "Great Cham" became less elephantine even before he had emerged from the ill-starred pre-Dictionary years. The sentence-length of the Lives of the Poets is added to this table as well. But a somewhat fuller analysis of these biographies is entered in a short accompanying table.

TABLE II

		RAME (1750-			Idler (1758-1760)				Lives of the Poets
	Ess	ays	Let	ters	Ess	ays	Let	tern	(1777- 1781)
	Average words per essay	Sentence length	A verage words per letter	Sentence length	A verage words per essay	Sentence length	Average words per. letter	Sentence length	Sentence length
First 10	1,481	50.8	1,574	44.8	975	34.7	961	31.0	
Second 10	1,616	47.5	1,581	44.9	923	34.4	1.016	31.8	<i></i>
Third 10	1,562	45.5	1,607	42.5	926	34.8			
Fourth 10	1,422	49.6	1,522	40.0	932	33.4			
Fifth 10	1,433	45.3	1,511	40.1	876	35.6			
Sixth 10	1,366	46.3			879	33.8			
Seventh 10	1,345	41.1			876	82.4			
Eighth 10	1,438	44.1			ļ				
Ninth 10	1.461	41.5							
Tenth 10	1,280	40.5	 						
Eleventh 10	1,383	41.1] [•••••			
Twelfth 10	1,196	40.7	 	[
Thirteenth 10	1,267	38.8	 			 			
Fourteenth 10 1	1,260	37.4	 				 		
Averages	1,400	43.3	1,546	42.2	912	34.2	993	31.3	ļ
General averages.		 	1,437	43.1			962	33.4	30.1

 $^{^{\}rm 1}{\rm The~incomplete}$ Fifteenth 10 is not taken account of here, simply in the final averages

TABLE III

Major Lives	Number of Sentences	Sentence Length
Waller	840	80.2
Cowley	. 885	30.6
Addison	467	29.1
Young	482	25.0
Milton	785	29.7
Dryden	884	28.0
Pope	1,082	81.8

	Total Sentences	SENTENCE AVERAGE
Major lives	4,875	· 29.1
Minor lives ¹	3,025	81.2
Totals	7,400	30.1

¹ In number 44, all under 130 sentences save the lives of Edmund Smith and Matthew Prior, with 191 and 202 respectively.

The next table adds the Eminent Lives to The Rambler, The Idler, and the Lives of the Poets, heretofore considered. With these early biographies I shall be concerned more or less throughout the remainder of the paper. They are wholly narrative, lacking, save in negligible moments, the critical exposition of the greater Lives of the Poets. The table has to do with the grouping of sentences of certain lengths within indicated numerical divisions. There are three sections in it.—one, the catalogue of assembled sentences, at the right, being self-explanatory, the other two requiring a moment's elucidation. Of these two, that appearing first is a percentage indication of the proportion of sentences falling between minor numerical limits: for instance, 1.5 per cent of the periods found in the Eminent Lives have ten words or less. That section appearing directly below it is likewise a percentage indication, but somewhat more inclusive: here the sentences up to and through fifteen words are included, the Eminent Lives now registering 6.2 per cent.

TABLE IV

		OF SEN	OCCURI TENCES GROUP		l	RICAL (OF SEN WITHIN	TENCES	
SENTENCE-LENGTH GROUPING	Eminent Lives (1738-1744)	Bambler (1750–1752)	1dler (1758–1760)	Lives of the Poets (1777-1781)	Eminent Lives	Ram bler	Idler	Lives of the Poets
1- 10	1.5 4.7 4.7 6.5 8.2	2.1 5.3 7.7 9.3 9.8	6.8 9.3 13.4 12.4 11.5	8.0 12.1 14.1 14.0 12.4	22 73 73 101 126	141 358 520 627 662	171 246 343 316 298	259 896 1,041 1,038 920
31- 85	7.7 8.7 8.8 7.3 5.6	10.1 8.9 8.3 7.2 6.2	10.6 8.6 6.0 4.2 4.4	9.7 7.7 5.7 4.6 3.2	119 135 138 114 88	679 589 561 484 417	271 219 165 109 114	718 569 423 340 236
56- 80	6.0 4.8 4.6 3.7 3.9	4.7 4.1 3.4 3.0 2.3	3.0 2.3 2.3 1.8 .9	2.5 1.8 1.3 .7	93 77 74 58 62	316 278 234 204 159	77 56 55 48 23	184 138 95 50 51
81- 85	2.2 2.8 1.8 1.2 1.8	1.9 1.3 1.0 .7 1.0	.5 .4 .4 .4	.3.4. .3.9.2.	35 44 27 19 29	132 89 67 47 65	11 12 12 11 11	26 28 19 13 11
111-120	1.2 1.0 .5 .5	.6 .3 .2 .2	.4 .2 .3	.2	18 14 8 8 10	41 24 14 10 7	10 5 1 2	6 2 2 1
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	1,586	6,735	2,581	7,400
1-15. 1-20. 1-25. 1-30. 1-40. 1-50. 1-70.	6.2 10.9 17.4 25.6 42.0 58.1 69.1 79.1	7.4 15.1 24.4 34.2 58.2 68.7 79.6 87.1	16.1 29.5 41.9 53.4 72.6 82.8 90.2 94.8	20.1 34.2 48.2 60.6 78.0 88.3 94.0 97.1				
Over 70	21.0	12.8	5.2	2.9			•••••	

Before I pass to a consideration of some of the more technical aspects of the sentences, I should like to say a word about Johnson's method of punctuating. Many of his periods, especially those that we remember for their excellence, are punctuated somewhat according to the standards of the present day. But speaking generally, his system differs in two ways from our own. For one thing he over-punctuates. flow of his prose is arrested beyond the reckoning of man by commas, semicolons, and colons, separating into segments the smallest elements, islanding words and phrases, bringing the sweeping current of the thought headlong against unexpected formal pause-marks. One learns very quickly to pay little attention to interfering semicolons. Of course it was the way of the world in those days when most writers were "beyond Tooke." Johnson is relatively consistent in his excess. But besides over-punctuating within a sentence of normal length, he is given to the creation, markedly in his pre-Dictionary period but always to a degree, of long stringy sentences that a well-taught twelve-year-old would divide several times. Of this tendency, again common to the times, the following sentence is an example. There are in it eight main clauses which would be expressed more nearly to the heart's desire of the present age, I think, in three separate sentences. It is perfectly clear as it stands, and is doubtless satisfactory enough to the average mortal, but obviously the tendency must be taken account of when certain later matters are discussed.

It is not uncommon to charge the difference between promise and performance, between profession and reality, upon deep design and studied deceit; but the truth is, that there is very little hypocrisy in the world; we do not so often endeavour or wish to impose on others, as on ourselves; we resolve to do right, we hope to keep our resolutions, we declare them to confirm our own hope, and fix our own inconstancy by calling witnesses of our actions; but at last habit prevails, and those whom we invited to our triumph laugh at our defeat.

Idler, No. 27.

In the passage above there was nothing at fault with the inter-relationship of the clauses: each idea gave way logically to the succeeding thought. But there is another type of sentence of which the same cannot be said. In such there is little connection. The two or more thoughts are grouped loosely within the limits of the same period by a comma or

a semicolon. A modern system of punctuation would dismember the period for the sake of emphasis if not of clearness. What is meant may be seen in the following sentence:

He forgot, in the vehemence of desire, that solitude and quiet owe their pleasures to those miseries, which he was so studious to obviate: for such are the vicissitudes of the world, through all its parts, that day and night, labour and rest, hurry and retirement, endear each other; such are the changes that keep the mind in action; we desire, we pursue, we obtain, we are satiated; we desire something else, and begin a new pursuit.

Rambler, No. 6.

Today we should probably conclude the sentence before "such," and in the newly created period place a colon before "we desire."

It is necessary to understand this matter, if the next table is to be comprehended, because therein I want to introduce two self-created terms necessary for a further examination of Johnson's sentences. It avails next to nothing at all to set forth an analysis of a writer's period-length unless his system of punctuation is taken into account. It is just as futile to compare the sophisticated Macaulay's sentence-length with that of the primitive Chaucer who wrote prose before a sentence-sense was evolved, whose chronicle periods with their "thens" and "whens" and "ands" ran on like Tennyson's brook—forever. It is just as futile, but in a different way. In the first of the two sentences I quoted there were eight main clauses, eight groups of words expressing complete thought. They were all interlocked, it is true, -some of them vitally,—but one must know how many sentences within sentences a writer averages, how many fully expressed ideas per period, if he is to understand the evolution of his style. In order that I might do this I have called the original sentence-length the "indicated" sentence-length, and the separate main clauses the "actual" sentence-length. By so doing, I can level all considerations of archaic punctuation, and get at the heart of his true sentence average, which chronologically examined will furnish an index of his development, in so far as the exclusion from his sentences of irrelevant or overburdening material is concerned.

A glance at the table will show that the greatest "actual sentence-length," 36.7 words, is recorded against The Rambler. This simply means that it took Johnson 36.7 words during the Rambler period to express one complete thought. The shortest, 18.6, as one would imagine, belongs to the expository sections of the Lives of the Poets. Between the two styles there is all the difference between leisureliness and incisiveness. It is interesting to note, too, that between the time of The Rambler and that of The Idler his "actual sentence-length" decreased 33 per cent; and between that of the Idler and that of the Lives of the Poets diminished further by about 25 per cent.

The second part of this table is based directly on this same matter of "actual sentence-length," or number of main clauses, but from a new point of view. It involves a double study: A-the numerical occurrence of main clauses that are logically interlocked with the preceding main clauses and the number that are not. And for this purpose, I wanted to ascertain whether, as his style developed, associated clauses, those closely related, increased relatively in proportion to the number illogically joined. The presumption was that they would increase, since looseness of clause relationship accompanies lack of emphasis, and is the mark of a less sophisticated style. Such main clauses as were closely articulated I brought under Type I; such as were not, under Type II. The other side of the study, B, had to do with the relative proportions of Type I to Type II. This was important for purposes of chronological comparison. The presumption here was that the early style, with its greater sentence-length and its tendency to overcrowd the periods, would produce more disassociated main clauses,—clauses of Type II, that is,—than the later style. This proved to be borne out by the facts, as the table will show.

Another point. The table concerns itself with two styles of writing, narrative and exposition. Johnson's narrative style was always looser and more disjointed than his ex-

pository. And this fact can be clearly seen in every entry save that for the first ten Rambler papers, the most ponderous of all his well-known work.

And finally the table is further divided into Major and Minor sections. The latter division is in the nature of an appendix. It may prove interesting to note his advance in sentence swiftness in the same field over twenty years of writing. *Taxation No Tyranny* is one of his strongest, most trenchant pieces of writing.

TABLE V

Major Tabl	•	Number of	Indicated sen- tence length	Actual sen- tence length	Number of sentences of Type I	Number of sentences of Type II	Belative per- centage sen- tences of Type I
Eminent Lives	1738-1744	1677	51.0	36.0	73	140	34.2
(Narrative)	1756-1763	750	36.5	26.4	36	58	40.0
	1st 10	296	51.4	36.7	26	17	60.5
Rambler	Central 10.	815	46.8	81.0	48	24	86.6
	Last 10	377	39.4	28.5	53	16	76.8
	1st 15	387	35.9	24.4	50	26	60.4
Idler	Last 16	382	35.7	24.7	41	22	65.1
The state of the Posts	Narrative.	498	32.9	23.5	32	26	55.2
Lives of the Poets	Exposition	585	28.3	18.6	128	43	74.9
MINOR TABL							
Political State of Great Britain Observations on Af- fairs	1756	235	41.7	26.4	23	27	46
The Patriot	1774-5	490	80.7	23.9	41	12	81

Table VI, besides borrowing from Table V in the matter of "indicated" and "actual" sentence-length, undertakes an analysis of Looseness and Periodicity, of Predications, and

of the percentage of Simple Sentences. When I say looseness and periodicity I have in mind only exaggerated occurrences. Looseness here is used in an adversely critical sense and refers only to such sentences as trail on and on until just this side of infinity. Very few such will have less than fifty words or fewer than four or five trailing elements imposed on the period after the completion of the thought. I use the term "periodicity" with its usual signification but record as examples only those sentences, rather elaborate in their architecture, that release the thesis of the period only after fairly lengthy subordinate elements have been advanced. No sentences of under thirty words have been included for the simple reason that such would not be ambitiously periodic. It is axiomatic in connection with Looseness and Periodicity that the excessive presence of the former will be indicative of weakness or at least carelessness, and that the presence of the latter will indicate strength. The following passage from the Life of Savage will furnish instances of both types.

That this act of generosity may receive its due praise, and that the good actions of Mrs. Oldfield may not be sullied by her general character, it is proper to mention what Mr. Savage often declared, in the strongest terms, that he never saw her alone, or in any other place than behind the scenes.

At her death he endeavoured to show his gratitude in the most decent manner, by wearing mourning, as for a mother; but did not celebrate her in elegies, because he knew that too great profusion of praise would only have revived those faults which his natural equity did not allow him to think less, because they were committed by one who favoured him; but of which, though his virtue would not endeavour to palliate them, his gratitude would not suffer him to prolong the memory, or diffuse the censure. In his Wanderer, he has, indeed, taken an opportunity of mentioning her; but celebrates her not for her virtue, but her beauty, an excellence which none ever denied her: this is the only encomium with which he has rewarded her liberality; and, perhaps, he has, even in this, been too lavish of his praise.

Life of Savage.

I am using the term "predications" in its traditional sense of trailing participial and gerundial phrases, and clauses, but with this restriction: although I have counted all clauses that follow completed sense, I have recorded participial and gerundial phrases only when they were long enough to impress a reader as really loose elements. And I have recorded, as well, long, dangling double predicates. For instance, in the above quoted passage from Savage there are three sentences. In the first I find no predications, as may be expected where there is strong periodicity. In the second sentence there are seven predications, in the third, five. The record of a writer's predications will, of course, be a registry of his looseness. In all the matters just discussed Johnson varied chronologically both in narrative and exposition.

I define "simple sentence" rather strictly as a group of words expressing complete thought through the medium of one clause. This will exclude even subject and object clauses.

	Number of sen- tences involved	Indicated sen- tence length	Actual sentence length	Number of loose	Number of per- iodic sentences	Average predi- cations per sentence!	Percentage of simple sen-
Rambler Ist 10	298	51.4	36.7	4	31	2.88	6.0
Idler }	387	35.9	24.4	2	31	2.06	12.2
Lines of (Exposition)	585	28.3	18.6	0	23	1.44	23.6
the Posts (Narrative)	498	32.9	23.5	15	13	1.80	19.1
Eminent Lives (Narrative)	335	51.3	37.	36	18	3.20	12.8

TABLE VI

Perhaps the most persistent stylistic device employed by Johnson was his conscious rhetorical use of minor and major balanced elements. By minor elements I mean triads, or duplicated couplings or phrases, with or without homologous modifiers—for instance, "his lilies and his roses, his satyrs and his dryads"; "to amusements of greater pleasure, or to studies of better prospect." By major elements I have in

¹ Note the coincidence of the expository section from the *Lives of the Poets* having but half the number of predications recorded against *The Rambler*.

mind balanced clauses. This device was ever present in Johnson's prose as it has been present in the work of most who employ artifice to gain effect. Lyly and Swinburne notably employ it, as the appended sentences will show.

This I gather from your answer, that beauty may have fair leaves, and foul fruit, that all that are aimable are not honest, that love proceedeth from the woman's perfection and the man's follies, that the trial looked for is to perform whatsoever they promise, that in mind he be virtuous, in body comely, such a husband in my opinion is to be wished for but not looked for.

John Lyly.

The points of contact and sides of likeness between

William Blake and Walt Whitman are

so many and so grave

as to afford some grounds of reason to those who preach the transition of souls or transfusion of spirits.

(and)

The pinchbeck structure of Hibernian fiction and the pasteboard outworks of Hibernian faction. Both from Swinburne.

Johnson is not so artificial as either of these writers, for, although he employs parasonic parallelism, he very infrequently has recourse to transverse alliteration. Indeed he is never strongly alliterative.

This trick of Johnson's was of great importance in determining the quality or type of his rhythm. I should say that it was the most important single factor.

These instances of balance vary both in length and in artifice. I was myself interested in trying to ascertain whether his tendency to employ them increased or diminished, and whether—no matter how the case held in regard to frequency—the balanced elements, by lengthening, grew more artificial. It was, in a way, a labor of supererogation. I did learn, though, what I had only suspected, that both numerically and artificially he was more given to the device in 1780 than in 1750. Table VII will show to what extent.

In order to test the matter I included under Type 1 all elements involving the repetition of two sets of "minor word-groups or phrases". Type 1a.—indicates perfect balance, with all modifiers homologous,—like-placed terms in balanced element; Type 1b.—balance, but with one homologous element missing or slightly ineffective rhythmically. Type 2a.—involves perfect three sets of minor word-groups, or phrases, etc., etc.

The appended examples will make this clear, I believe.

1a.

- 1— the extent of his knowledge or the sprightliness of his imagination
- 2— whose motions are gradual and whose life is progressive
- 3— unjust claims and exorbitant expectations
- 4— allured on the one side and frightened on the other
- 5— with all his industry and with all his artifices

1b.

- 1— vice and virtue axioms and definitions
- 2— no blame or praise of man shall diminish or augment

2a.

- 1— a prediction of the appearance of a comet or the calculation of the chances of a lottery
- 2— all the brothers were valiant and all the sisters were virtuous
- 3— the wisest models of government and the brightest examples of patriotism
- 4— softening censure by apologies or rousing attention by abruptness

2b.

- 1— pure without scrupulosity and exact without apparent elaboration
- 2— the listless may be actuated and the empty be replenished

3a.

- 1— engaged without design in numberless competitions and mortified without provocation with numberless afflictions
- 2— innumerable delights solicit our inclinations and innumerable cares distract our attention
- 3— all the acquisitions of courage without hazard and all the products of industry without fatigue
- 4— when the attention is recreated by unexpected facility and the imagination soothed by incidental excellencies

4a.

- 1— which a wise man will obviate as inconsistent with quiet and a good man will repress as contrary to virtue
- 2— from streets filled with soldiers accustomed to plunder or from garrets filled with scribblers accustomed to lie

5a.

- 1— as gold which he cannot spend will make no man rich so knowledge which he cannot apply will make no man wise
- 2— who pass a desert and tell that it is sandy who cross a valley and find that it is green

	NON	RICAL C	NUMERICAL OCCURRENCE OF BALANCED ELEMENTS	NOB OF	BALANG	ED ELBI	CBATS	PBRC	INTAGE	Осотвя	BMOR F	PERCENTAGE OCCURRENCE FER TROUBAND WORDS	WAND W	ORDE
	Emin- ent Lives 1738- 1744 16,855 Words		Rambler 1750-1753 27,822 Words	758- 1758- 87, WO	<i>Idler</i> 1758–1760 27,531 words	Lives Po 1777 83, wo	Lives of the Poets 1777-1781 88,874 words	Emin- ent Lives	Ram	Rambler	p _I	Idler	Lives of the Poets	of the
		1st 10 15,084 words	Last 10 12,738 Words	1st 15 13,894 words	Last 16 13,638 words	Exposition 16,563	Narra- tive 16,381 words		1st 10	ist 10 Last 10	1st 15	Last 16	Expo- sition	Narra- tive
Type 1 } &	80	58	. 22	5:5	29	88	37							
Type 2 { 5	27	&∞	∞ 🗪	55	នដ	28	es t-							
Totals.	8	116	107	Ξ	138	172	8	8.6	7.7	8.4	8.	10.	10.4	3.7
Type 3 { b		9-	œ œ	60 84	80 90	13 21								
Type 4 b	-8	1	87	401	-	အရ	1							
Type 5 { b	-44		-		87	က	1							
Totals.	Ξ	8	18	14	18	 	•	9.	3.	1.2	-i	1.8	S	ei ei
General totals	73	124	125	123	153	ಜ್ಞ	\$	4.2	8.8	9 6	6	11.2	13.4	3.9
Words { 8	01%	12	13	&-	22	15	80 84							
Phrases and a	133	22.23	86	∞ →	21	1 4 10	81							
	35	38	38	23	82	36	8							
														1

TABLE VII

'The opening sections of the following lives were used to the indicated extent: Savage, 10,000 words; Blake, 2,066; Burman, 2,919 (complete); and Sarpi, 1,964 (complete).

There is one interesting comparison that deserves passing notice and that most properly may be inserted at this point. Appended to the life of Roscommon among the Lives of the Poets, circa 1780, we find this note: "This life was originally written by Dr. Johnson, in the Gentlemen's Magazine for May, 1748. It then had notes which are now incorporated with the text." An examination of the first and of the final drafts reveals the fact that of the twenty-nine sentences of the original, nineteen are incorporated, with slight textual changes, in the later edition. We have, therefore, a two-fold opportunity to compare his early and his late styles,—in the first place, though this is of little value because of the verbatim incorporations, a simple sentence-length comparison of the two-41.7 words per sentence for the 1748 version, 27.4 for the 1780;—and in the second place, a more discriminating analysis based on the several considerations of the table that follows. This short biography, by the way, offers the only medium of such contrast in Johnson's work.

TABLE VIII

	Gæ	NERAL .	Analys	181	NARR	ATIVE	CRIT	ICAL SITION
	Indi- cated sen- tence length	Actual sen- tence length	Predi- cations	Per- cent- age of simple sen- tences	Num- ber of sen- tences	Indi- cated sen- tence length	Num- ber of sen- tences	Indi- cated sen- tence length
The 19 incorporated sentences from the version of 1748	48.2	32.2	3.32	10.0	11	47.7	8	48.8
The 50 additional sentences of the version of 1780	21.2	16.5	.94	33.9	11	24.0	4 8	20.9

¹ Involving the 19 copied sentences and the 59 added.

A few scattered Johnsonian devices not so far spoken of might be listed here. In the use of all of them he was confirmed throughout his career.

- 1. All manner of correlatives.
- Series, whether words, phrases, or clauses,—but particularly series of clauses introduced by "which" or "that."

- 3. Minor periodic devices.
 - a. Suspended elements injected into any part of the sentence to arrest development, and
 - b. Especially a periodic insertion following "and" used either to join a long double predicate or to begin a main clause.
- 4. "Yet" or "for" clauses. Of the latter conjunction he was inordinately fond.
- 5. Object clauses introduced by "how" or "that."
- 6. Main clauses introduced by "and" or "but" in the ratio of about two-and-a-half to one.
- 7. Innumerable double predicates introduced by "and."

Most or all of these devices may be found illustrated in the passages that follow.

I have selected with considerable care certain passages illustrative of Johnson's narrative and expository style during his different periods. Although they may stress slightly beyond the norm Johnsonian tendencies, they should be regarded, in the main, as typical. Each one has been examined from at least half a dozen points of view to determine its availability as a type,—among other points of view, those concerning couplings, triads, balanced devices, parallelism, series, predications, periodic and loose elements, vocabulary, and rhythm. A careful analysis of them will, I believe, present adequately the changing Johnson.

In general one may expect the style of the biographical narratives of the first period to be far looser, less closely knit, less emphatic, than that of the final period. Trailing on and on through the imposition of added elements, the early sentences will lack whatever of "speed" and energy abides in those of 1780. And it will follow, in consequence, that the early work will possess longer "actual" sentence-length, more predications, and more loose sentences.

4

I-BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE-NORMAL

1.

Mr. Savage then imagined his task over, and expected that sir Richard would call for the reckoning, and return home; but his expectations deceived him, for sir Richard told him that he was without money, and that the pamphlet must be sold, before the dinner could be paid for; and Savage was, therefore, obliged to go and offer their new production to sale for two guineas, which, with some difficulty, he obtained. Sir Richard then returned home, having retired that day only to avoid his creditors, and composed the pamphlet only to discharge his reckoning.

Mr. Savage related another fact equally uncommon, which, though it has no relation to his life, ought to be preserved. Sir Richard Steele having one day invited to his house a great number of persons of the first quality, they were surprised at the number of liveries which surrounded the table; and after dinner, when wine and mirth had set them free from the observation of rigid ceremony, one of them inquired of sir Richard, how such an expensive train of domesticks could be consistent with his fortune. Sir Richard very frankly confessed, that they were fellows of whom he would very willingly be rid: and being then asked why he did not discharge them, declared that they were bailiffs, who had introduced themselves with an execution, and whom, since he could not send them away, he had thought it convenient to embellish with liveries, that they might do him credit while they staid.

Life of Savage, from Eminent Lives of first period, 1738-1751.

2.

As he was one day surveying the apartments at Versailles, being shown the victories of Lewis, painted by Le Brun, and asked whether the king of England's palace had any such decorations: "The monuments of my master's actions," said he, "are to be seen every where but in his own house." The pictures of Le Brun are not only in themselves sufficiently ostentatious, but were explained by inscriptions so arrogant, that Boileau and Racine thought it necessary to make them more simple.

He was, in the following year, at Loo with the king; from whom, after a long audience, he carried orders to England, and upon his arrival became under-secretary of state in the earl of Jersey's office; a post which he did not retain long, because Jersey was removed; but he was soon made commissioner of trade.

This year, 1700, produced one of his longest and most splendid compositions, the Carmen Seculars, in which he exhausts all his powers of celebration. I mean not to accuse him of flattery; he probably thought all that he writ, and retained as much veracity as can be properly exacted from a poet professedly encomiastick. King William supplied copious materials for either verse or prose. His whole life had been action, and none ever denied him the resplendent qualities of steady resolution and personal courage. He was really, in Prior's mind, what he represents him in his verses; he considered him as a hero, and was accustomed to say, that he praised others in compliance with the fashion, but that in celebrating king William he followed his inclination. To Prior gratitude would dictate praise, which reason would not refuse.

Prior, Lives of the Poets, (1777-1781).

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate the stylistic differences that may be looked for among expository examples of the three periods, differences in sentence-length, in looseness—in all the rhetorical devices that would tend to mark the evolution of his style from the specific gravity of rhetoric to such specific levity as he ever attained. An examination of the extracts representative of the first group, drawn from the *Parliamentary Debates*, the *Sermons*, and the *Rambler* papers, will show identical styles.

II-NORMAL EXPOSITION-FIRST PERIOD (1788-1755)

1.

Mr. Fazakerly spoke next, to this effect:—Sir, as the bill now under our consideration is entangled with a multitude of circumstances too important to be passed by without consideration, and too numerous to be speedily examined; as its effects, whether salutary or pernicious, must extend to many nations, and be felt in a few weeks to the remotest part of the dominions of Britain, I cannot but think, that they who so much press for expedition on this occasion, consult rather their passions than their reason, that they discover rather enthusiasm than seal, and that by imagining that they have already traced the effects of a law like this to their utmost extent, they discover rather an immoderate confidence in their own capacity, than give any proofs of that anxious caution, and deliberate prudence, which true patriotism generally produces.

Debate on the Corn Bill, from Parliamentary Debates, (1740-1742)

2.

That society is necessary to the happiness of human nature, that the gloom of solitude, and the stillness of retirement, however they may flatter at a distance, with pleasing views of independence and serenity, neither extinguish the passions, nor enlighten the understanding, that discontent will intrude upon privacy, and temptations follow us to the desert, every one may be easily convinced, either by his own experience, or that of others. That knowledge is advanced by an intercourse of sentiments, and an exchange of observations, and that the bosom is disburdened by a communication of its cares, is too well known for proof or illustration. In solltude, perplexity swells into distraction, and grief settles into melancholy; even the satisfactions and pleasures, that may by chance be found, are but imperfectly enjoyed, when they are enjoyed without participation.

Bermon ID, before 1752.

To afford adequate consolations to the last hour, to cheer the gloomy passage through the valley of the shadow of death, and to ease that anxiety, to which beings, prescient of their own dissolution, and conscious of their own danger, must be necessarily exposed, is the privilege only of revealed religion. All those, to whom the supernatural right of heavenly doctrine has never been imparted, however formidable for power, or illustrious for wisdom, have wanted that knowledge of their future state which alone can give comfort to misery, or security to enjoyment; and have been forced to rush forwards to the grave, through the darkness of ignorance; or, if they happened to be more refined and inquisitive, to solace their passage with the fallacious and uncertain glimmer of philosophy.

Sermon XXV, before 1752.

3.

Among the innumerable bidders for praise, some are willing to purchase at the highest rate, and offer ease and health, fortune and life. Yet even of these only a small part have gained what they so earnestly desired; the student wastes away in meditation, and the soldier perishes on the ramparts, but unless some accidental advantage co-operates with merit, neither perseverance nor adventure attracts attention, and learning and bravery sink into the grave, without honour or remembrance.

But ambition and vanity generally expect to be gratified on easier terms. It has been long observed, that what is procured by skill

or labour to the first possessor, may be afterwards transferred for money; and that the man of wealth may partake all the acquisitions of courage without hasard, and all the products of industry without fatigue. It was easily discovered, that riches would obtain praise among other conveniences, and that he whose pride was unluckily associated with lasiness, ignorance, or cowardice, needed only to pay the hire of a panegyrist, and he might be regaled with periodical eulogies; might determine, at leisure, what virtue or science he would be pleased to appropriate, and be lulled in the evening with soothing sevenades, or waked in the morning by sprightly gratulations.

The happiness which mortals receive from the celebration of beneficence which never relieved, eloquence which never persuaded, or elegance which never pleased, ought not to be envied or disturbed, when they are known honestly to pay for their entertainment. But there are unmerciful exactors of adulation, who withhold the wages of venality; retain their encomiast from year to year by general promises and ambiguous blandishments; and when he has run through the whole compass of flattery, dismiss him with contempt, because his vein of fiction is exhausted.

Rambler, No. 193. (1750-1752).

MIDDLE PERIOD

1.

A new paper lies under the same disadvantages as a new play. There is danger lest it be new without novelty. My earlier predecessors had their choice of vices and follies, and selected such as were most likely to raise merriment or attract attention; they had the whole field of life before them, untrodden and unsurveyed; characters of every kind shot up in their way, and those of the most luxuriant growth, or most conspicuous colours, were naturally cropt by the first sickle. They that follow are forced to peep into neglected corners, to note the casual varieties of the same species, and to recommend themselves by minute industry and distinctions too subtle for common eyes.

Sometimes it may happen, that the haste or negligence of the first inquirers has left enough behind to reward another search; sometimes new objects start up under the eye, and he that is looking for one kind of matter, is amply gratified by the discovery of another. But still it must be allowed, that, as more is taken, less can remain; and every truth brought newly to light impoverishes the mine, from which succeeding intellects are to dig their treasures.

Idler, No. 3. (1758-1760).

FINAL PERIOD

L

He had, apparently, such rectitude of judgment, as secured him from every thing that approached to the ridiculous or absurd; but as laws operate in civil agency not to the excitement of virtue, but the repression of wickedness, so judgment in the operations of intellect can hinder faults, but not produce excellence. Prior is never low, nor very often sublime. It is said by Longinus of Euripides, that he forces himself sometimes into grandeur by violence of effort, as the lion kindles his fury by the lashes of his own tail. Whatever Prior obtains above mediocrity seems the effort of struggle and toil. He has many vigorous but few happy lines; he has every thing by purchase, and nothing by gift; he had no "nightly visitations" of the muse, no infusions of sentiment or felicities of fancy.

His diction, however, is more his own than that of any among the successors of Dryden; he borrows no lucky turns, or commodious modes of language, from his predecessors. His phrases are original, but they are sometimes harsh; as he inherited no elegancies, none has he bequeathed. His expression has every mark of laborious study; the line seldom seems to have been formed at once; the words did not come till they were called, and were then put by constraint into their places, where they do their duty, but do it sullenly. In his greater compositions there may be found more rigid stateliness than graceful dignity.

Prior, Lives of the Poets, (1777-1781).

III—EXPOSITION WITH EARLY TENDENCIES EXAGGERATED

1.

Having thus deprived myself of many excuses which candour might have admitted for the inequality of my compositions, being no longer able to allege the necessity of gratifying correspondents, the importantly with which publication was solicited, or obstinacy with which correction was rejected, I must remain accountable for all my faults, and submit, without subterfuge, to the censures of criticism, which, however, I shall not endeavour to soften by a formal deprecation, or to overbear by the influence of a patron. The supplications of an author never yet reprieved him a moment from oblivion; and, though greatness has sometimes sheltered guilt, it can afford no protection to ignorance or duliness. Having hith-

erto attempted only the propagation of truth, I will not at last violate it by the confession of terrours which I do not feel; having laboured to maintain the dignity of virtue, I will not now degrade it by the meanness of dedication.

Rambler, No. 208, (1750-1752).

IV-EXPOSITION WITH LATER TENDENCIES EXAGGERATED

1.

His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not grovelling, pure without scrupulosity and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blases in unexpected splendour.

It was, apparently, his principal endeavour to avoid all harshness and severity of diction; he is, therefore, sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatical, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine Anglicism. What he attempted, he performed; he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetick; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity: his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentations, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.

Addison, Lives of the Poets, (1777-1781).

But if in these passages the stately Dictator has outdone himself, it remained for Bishop Lowth, among others, to carry the manner to the nether borders of caricature. It was in a controversial document of 1765 entitled A Letter to the Right Reverend Author of the Divine Legation of Moses, directed against Warburton, that the paragraph I am about to quote appeared. I take the liberty of so arranging it, with all its artifice on its head, that its harmonic devices and its rhetoric may be detected by him who runs.

I spent many years in that illustrious society, in a well-regulated course of useful discipline and studies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of gentlemen and scholars; in a society where emulation without envy, ambition without jealousy, contention without animosity, incited industry, and awakened genius; where a liberal pursuit of knowledge, and a genuine freedom of thought, was raised, encouraged, and pushed forward, by example, by commendation, and by authority.

I breathed the same atmosphere that the Hookers, the Chillingworths, and the Lockes had breathed before;

whose benevolence and humanity
were as extensive as their vast genius and comprehensive knowledge;
who always treated their adversaries with civility and respect;
who made candour, moderation, and liberal judgment
as much the rule and law as the subject of their discourse.
And do you repreach me with my education in this place,
and with my relation to this most respectable body,
which I shall always esteem
my greatest advantage and my highest honor?

THE PROSE STYLE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

STANLEY HARKNESS

It is no part of my task to consider the sources at Sidney's command when he wrote the Arcadia and when he wrote the Apologie for Poetrie. That he was endebted in his Arcadia to Lobeira, Heliodorus, and Sannazaro is patent. But it is equally true that he produced in his romance a distinctive type of writing,—distinctive enough to supplant Euphuism and to influence many writers in the first part of the 17th century: notably Shakespeare in his King Lear. Quarles in his Argalus and Parthenia, Day in his Ile of Guls, Beaumont and Fletcher in their Cupid's Revenge, Shirley in his Arcadia, and Webster in several of his plays.1 As for the Apologie, although it was immediately preceded by many English treatises on the same and allied subjects, it outshines its predecessors in solidity of thought, in penetrating wit, and in deftness and charm of manner. It may be said of Sidney as the author of the Apologie, that "He forges the subtle and delicate air into wise and melodious words, and gives them wing as angels of persuasion and command." The inherent vitality of this treatise is such that it not only survived the period in which it was written, but is to-day as critically fresh and potent as it was in 1595. But setting aside his sources and the popularity of his works, we shall concern ourselves: first, with an analysis of Sidney's prose style as he adjusted it to the exigencies of works so disparate as the Arcadia and the Apologie for Poetrie; and then with one of the Ciceronian aspects of Sidney's style.

Sidney's purpose in writing these pieces is of importance in this discussion. Perhaps too much has been made of the casual circumstances under which he composed the *Arcadia*,

¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, III: 855.

and of the desire that Sidney is said to have had to destroy the manuscript. There seems to be sufficient internal evidence to justify us in thinking that, despite his deprecatory dedication—which after all has the conventional tone of Elizabethan dedications—Sidney must have been conscious of the merit of the Arcadia, and that he could not have considered the writing of it as a mere pastime. The bulk of it. the plan of it, the alert fancy and imagination that it displays,—above all, the consistent inconsistency of it—to use the language of mild euphuism-its astonishing richness of style, seem too much like conscious art to enable us to believe that Sidney was other than serious in the writing of it. His conception was unquestionably a prose-poem. us in the Apologie that verse is not essential to poetry. Moreover, Elizabethan fiction often took the form of poetical prose. "The feigning notable images of virtues, vices," we have in the Arcadia. But "invention" does not stop with these: for we find woven together in the fabric of this fabulous tale, fantastic stories of hairbreadth escapes, violent love affairs, crowded adventures in which incredible disguises form the chief interest. Such a tale told in pedestrian prose would be tame and ineffective. Sidney to reconcile manner to matter heightened his style in almost every conceivable way. is exuberant, extravagant,—a sort of literary rococo.

The Apologie for Poetrie, on the other hand, is a critical essay. It was doubtless composed partially to set right certain errors consequent upon the publication of Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse, which the author officiously dedicated to Sidney. But the inspiration of his subject raised Sidney's essay far above the vulgar level of a controversial tract into the realm of aesthetic and philosophy. Accordingly his style is tempered to his logical purpose and, unlike that of the Arcadia, exhibits notably, by contrast, the qualities that contribute to perspicuity.

A comparison of Sidney's styles involves chiefly two matters: his sentences, and his diction. In this study his sentences only will be considered. First, what contribution do Sidney's sentences, as such, make toward that extravagant thing we call the Arcadian style? Their length, their types, and their syntactical irregularity must be analysed.

Even the casual reader of these two works cannot fail to observe the great length of the Arcadian periods when compared with the periods in the Apologie. But the matter is so vital to a comparison of Sidney's opposite styles that it can be brought home only by such a scientific comparison as the tables below present.2 The obvious conclusion to be derived from such statistics is that the periods of the Apologie (whatever be the text) are notably shorter than those of the Arcadia. But a brief explanation may render other conclusions evident. The textual area for my study of the Arcadia I have adjusted to the length of the Apologie as a whole in two ways: 1. By using that text of the Apologie which is composed of the maximum number of sentences (483), and counting from the beginning of the Arcadia the words (they prove to be 30523) in a corresponding number of sentences; 2. By discovering how many sentences in the Arcadia (they prove to be 278) it requires to consume as many words as are found in the text of the Apologie used above. The table makes this distinction clear.

APOLOGIE

	Total number of words	Number of sentences	Average length
Shuckburgh	18, 8 34	483	38
	18, 866	455	41
	19, 008	438	43

The task of finding a basis for a comparison of sentence-length was aggravated by a surprising discrepancy in the various editions of the Apologic. Although these texts contain—with comparatively few and unimportant exceptions—the same words in the same order, they differ very markedly in the placing and nature of the stops employed. The disparity in the total number of words in these texts is to be explained: (1) by a difference in the treatment of compounds; (2) by some other slight divergencies here and there in the readings of the editors; and (3) by the errors incidental to the tedious task of counting some 75000 words and more. Concerning the editions used, see p. 70, note 8.

ARCADIA

	Total number of words	Number of sentences	Average Length
Feuillerat	30, 523	483	63
	18, 779	278	67

ARCADIA		APOLOGIE		
Fueillerat	Shuckburgh	Cook	Collins	
483	483	455	438	
63	38	41	43	
	32 18 1 1 1	19 16 3	24 24 8 1 2	
	Fueillerat 483 63 2 58 14	Fueillerat Shuckburgh 483	Fueillerat Shuckburgh Cook 483 483 455 63 38 41 2 32 19 58 18 16 14 1 3 5 1	

But length per se gives no stable criterion for conclusions about Sidney's differing styles: an examination of the types of sentences brings us nearer to the structural weakness and syntactical irregularity of his Arcadian periods. It is the long sentences that present most difficulty. Of the protracted, over-loaded type there seem to be five kinds distinguishable: (1) The type which is not conceived of by the writer as an entity, but which has within it several centers about which as many ideas are grouped. The relationship between these various ideas is sometimes loosely indicated by conjunctions (the "abuse of conjunctions" Saintsbury calls

it); often it is not indicated at all. Some such looseness is provided for by Thomas Wilson in his Arte of Rhetorique when he says "Wordes loose are suche, which as are uttered without the addition of conjunctions, such as knitte words and sentences together". (p. 205) Examples of this type of sentence follow. They abound.

And he hath likewise hetherto kept my young Lord Clitophon alive, who (to redeme his friend) went with certaine other noblemen of Laconia, and forces gathered by them, to besiege this young and new successor: but he issuing out (to the wonder of all men) defeated the Laconians, slew many of the noblemen, and tooke Clitophon prisoner, whom with much adoo he keepeth alive: the Helots being villanously cruell; but he tempereth them so, sometimes by following their humor, sometimes by striving with it, that hetherto hee hath saved their lives, but in different estates: Argalus being kept in a close and hard prison, Clitophon at some libertie. (p. 37)⁴

But as he was redy to be greatly advanced for some noble peeces of service which he did, he hearde newes of me: who (dronke in my affection to that unlawfull and unnaturall sonne of mine) suffered myself so to be governed by him, that all favors and punishments passed by him, all offices, and places of importance, distributed to his favorites; so that ere I was aware, I had left my self nothing but the name of King: which he shortly wearie of too, with many indignities (if anything may be called an indignity, which was laid upon me) threw me out of my seat, and put out my cies; and then (proud in his tyrannies) let me goe, nether imprisoning, nor killing me; but rather delighting to make me feele my miserie; miserie indeed, if ever there were any; full of wretchednes, fuller of disgrace, and fullest of guiltines. (p. 209)

(2) The second kind of long, unwieldy sentence is the sort in which, after expressing a complete idea at the beginning, Sidney has given over the bulk of the sentence to qualifications, additions, and amplifications, which taper and dwindle away towards an inconsequential ending. This "head-on" type, as it may be called, is lacking in proportion and emphasis. Examples are not infrequent in the Arcadia.

And by and by were they made great courtiers, and in the way of minions, when advancement (the most mortall offence to envy)

^{*} English Prose Style, XX.

^{*} Feuillerat's edition of the Arcadia is referred to throughout.

stirred up their former friend, to overthrow his owne worke in them; taking occasion upon the knowledge (newly come to the court) of the late King of Phrygia destroied by their two Lordes, who having bene a neere kinsman to this Prince of Pontus, by this envious Councellour, partly with suspition of practise, partly with glory of in-part revenging his cousins death, the King was suddainly turned, (and every turne with him was a downe-falle) to lock them up in prison, as servunts to his enimies, whom before he had never knowne, nor (til that time one of his own subjects had entertained and dealt for them) did ever take heed of. (p. 203)

(3) Another interesting type is that toward the end of which Sidney (possibly because he realized the chaotic condition of the first part) attempts to sum up and clarify the thought. The following is an extreme example in 356 words:

My Lord (said he) when our good king Basilius, with better successe then expectation, tooke to wife (even in his more then decaying yeares) the faire yong princes Gynecia; there came with her a young Lord, cousin german to her selfe, named Argalus, led bether, partly with the love and honour of his noble kinswoman, partly with the humour of youth, which ever thinkes that good, whose goodnes he sees not: and in this court he received so good encrease of knowledge, that after some yeares spent, he so manifested a most vertuous mind in all his actions, that Arcadia gloried such a plant was transported unto them, being a gentleman in deede most rarely accomplished, excellentlie learned, but without all vayne glory: friendly without factiousnes: valiaunt, so as for my part I thinke the earth hath no man that hath done more heroicall actes then hee; how soever now of late the fame flies of the two princes of Thessalia and Macedon, and hath long done of our noble prince Amphialus: who in deede, in our partes is onely accounted likely to match him: but I say for my part, I thinke no man for valour of minde, and habilitie of bodie to bee preferred, if equalled to Argalus; and yet so valiant as he never durst doo any bodie injurie: in behaviour some will say ever sadde, surely sober; and somewhat given to musing, but never uncourteous; his worde ever ledde by his thought, and followed by his deede; rather liberall then magnificent, though the one wanted not, and the other had ever good choise of the receiver: in summe' (for I perceive I shall easily take a great draught of his praises, whom both I and all this countrie love so well) such a man was (and I hope is) Argalus, as hardly the nicest eye can finde a spot in, if the over-vehement constancie of

The italics are mine.

yet spotles affection, may not in harde wrested constructions be counted a spot: which in this manner began that worke in him, which hath made bothe him, and it selfe in him, over all this country famous. (p. 31)

The examples thus far given have shown no vertebrate structure, no successful attempt—possibly no desire—on the writer's part to mold his sentence in any of the prescribed shapes: the internal arrangement of words, phrases, and clauses is loose. But two of the devices by which writers of Sidney's day strove to give rhetorical form to their sentences, Sidney uses in the *Arcadia*. These devices are the periodic arrangement, and balance; which I shall treat as the fourth and fifth types of the long sentence as it is found in the *Arcadia*.

(4) Sidney's use of the periodic arrangement of the elements that go to constitute the sentence reveals two irregularities in his style. Inasmuch as the periodic arrangement has for its ostensible purpose clearness and force, we may say that Sidney has often defeated his own object by his use of it. For, in the first place, few of his "periodic sentences" are thoroughgoing: he often deserts the scheme that he has led you to expect he should follow, thus destroying the unity of form and robbing his sentence completely of the climax which is the essential quality of periodicity. Examples of this anti-climactic type are not infrequent.

In the second place, he often encumbers his sentence along the way with so many excrescences that, although he does keep the periodic form, the reader can only by great effort and rereading recognize it. To save space and time I shall use one sentence to illustrate both these points, though separate examples of each may be found. Considered as a whole, this sentence illustrates the first defect; but if we suppose that three-quarters of it—as far as "the effect"—constitutes one sentence, it illustrates the second defect.

But then, Demagoras assuring himselfe, that now Parthenia was her owne, she would never be his, and receiving as much by her owne determinate answere, not more desiring his owne happines, then envying Argalus, whom he saw with narrow eyes, even ready to enjoy the perfection of his desires; strengthning his conceite with all the mischievous counsels which disdayned love, and envious pride could geve unto him; the wicked wretch (taking a time that Argalus was gone to his countrie, to fetch some of his principall frendes to honour the mariage, which Parthenia had most joyfully consented unto,) the wicked Demagoras (I say) desiring to speake with her, with unmercifull force, (her weake armes in vaine resisting) rubd all over her face a most horrible poyson: the effect whereof was such, that never leaper lookt more ugly then she did: which done, having his men and horses ready, departed away in spite of her servants, as redy to revenge as they could be, in such an unexpected mischiefe. (p. 34)

(5) When rigorously tested by structural canons, balance as employed by Sidney often misses its mark, either because it is not thoroughgoing, or else because it is overdone. In the first case, it may have a momentary rhetorical effect of considerable force; but it does not contribute to effective sentence-form. The following example begins with balanced antitheses; it then wanders off into other sorts of constructions, one at least of which—the italicized clause—is at odds with everything around it. Later another balanced construction is promised in "first, by employing"; but no corresponding "second" appears. Still later the writer returns to balanced clauses like those at the beginning. The sentence is amorphous, not because balance has been utilized, but rather because incongruous forms have in so long a sentence been loosely combined. Had Sidney followed the lead of his first antithesis, he might have produced, as he sometimes does, a compact and emphatic sentence.

But the more shee assaulted, the more shee taught Parthenia to defende: and the more Parthenia defended, the more she made her mother obstinate in the assault: who at length finding, that Argalus standing betweene them, was it that most eclipsed her affection from shining upon Demagoras, she sought all meanes how to remove him, so much the more, as he manifested himself an unremoveable suitor to her daughter: first, by imploying him in as many dangerous enterprises, as ever the evill stepmother Iuno recommended to the famous Hercules: but the more his vertue was tried, the more pure it grew, while all the things she did to overthrow him, did set him

up upon the height of honor; inough to have moved her harte, especially to a man every way so worthy as Argalus: but she strugling against all reason, because she would have her will, and shew her authoritie in matching her with Demagoras, the more vertuous Argalus was, the more she hated him: thinking herselfe conquered in his conquests, and therefore still imploying him in more and more dangerous attempts: meane while, she used all extremities possible upon her faire daughter, to make her geve over herselfe to her direction. (p. 33)

Sentences in which Sidney has employed balance excessively are not rare. One type is that in which there are convolutions: balanced constructions within balanced constructions. An example follows.

And alas, who can better witnesse that then we, whose experience is grounded upon feeling? hath not the onely love of her made us (being silly ignorant shepheards) raise up our thoughts above the ordinary levell of the worlde, so as great clearkes do not disdaine our conference? hath not the desire to seeme worthy in her eyes made us when others were sleeping, to sit vewing the course of the heavens? when others were running at base, to runne over learned writings? when others marke their sheepe, we to marke ourselves? hath not shee throwne reason upon our desires, and, as it were given eyes unto Cupid? hath in any, but in her, love-fellow-ship maintained friendship betweene rivals, and beautie taught the beholders chastitie? (pp. 7-8)

The balanced sentence is often periodic in arrangement as well. Such sentences gain, when they are handled at all deftly, a cumulative force. The following is a fair example of Sidney's skill in this kind.

Certainely as her eyelids are more pleasant to behold, then two kiddes climing up a faire tree, and browsing on his tendrest braunches, and yet are nothing, compared to the day-shining starres contayned in them; and as her breath is more sweete then a gentle South-west wind, which comes creeping over flowrie fieldes and shaddowed waters in the extreeme heate of summer, and yet is nothing, compared to the hony flowing speach that breath doth carrie: no more all that our eyes can see of her (though when they have seene her, what else they shall ever see is but drye stuble after clovers grasse) is to bee matched with the flocke of unspeakeable vertues laid up delightfully in that best builded folde. (p. 7)

A still more characteristic illustration of Sidney's use of balance is the following sentence, in which antithesis is the chief purpose.

The lightes, doores and staires, rather directed to the use of the guest, then to the eye of the Artificer: and yet as the one cheefly heeded, so the other not neglected; each place handsome without curiositie, and homely without lothsomnes: not so dainty as not to be trode on, nor yet slubberd up with good felowshippe: all more lasting then beautifull, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingnesse made the eye believe it was exceeding beautiful. (p. 15)

But Sidney does at times—though very rarely in the Arcadia—mass his material in a clear and unaffected form. Witness the following:

They hearing him speake in Greek (which was their naturall language) became the more tender hearted towards him; and considering by his calling and looking, that the losse of some deare friend was great cause of his sorow; told him they were poore men that were bound by course of humanitie to prevent so great a mischiefe; and that they wisht him, if opinion of some bodies perishing bred such desperate anguish in him, that he should be comforted by his owne proofe, who had lately escaped as apparent danger as any might be. (p. 9)

Akin in looseness to his long, involved sentences are Sidney's half-sentences, which are generally "overflows" from the former. These fragmentary sentences can usually be converted into self-sufficient sentences by the change of a relative pronoun to a demonstrative pronoun, or by some other slight alteration. One can scarcely glance at any page of the *Arcadia* without noting a sentence beginning in one of the following ways: "Which when . . . "Where lying "Whose workes . . . "Who seeing . . .

But the difficulty of Sidney's sentences is not wholly to be traced to their composition, or structure; it is as much due to syntactical errors. His chief offences in this regard are such as follow, examples of each irregularity being given below: anacolutha, misrelated participle, ambiguous reference, shift of subject. The underscoring and interpolations call attention to the errors.

(a) Anacolutha are not uncommon:

But the fishermen, when they came so neere him, that it was time to throwe out a rope, by which hold they might draw him, their simplicity bred such amasement, and their amasement such a superstition, that (assuredly thinking it was some God begotten between Neptune and Venus, that had made all this terrible slaughter) as they went under sayle by him, held up their hands, and made their prayers. (p. 10)

For she (being a woman of excellent witte, and of strong working thoughts) whether she suspected me by my over-vehement showes of affection to Philoclea (which love forced me unwisely to utter, while hope of my maske foolishly incouraged me) or that she hath taken some other marke of me, that I am not a woman: or what devil it is hath revealed it unto her, I know not; but so it is, that al her countenances, words and gestures, are miserable portraitures of a desperate affection. (pp. 93-94)

(b) The misrelated participle occurs freely:

Claius presently went to a Fisherman, and having agreed [refers not to the he to come, as it should, but to Claius] with him, and provided some apparell for the naked stranger, he [refers to naked stranger] imbarked, and the Shepheards with him. . . . (p. 9)

- (c) Ambiguous reference is often so flagrant as to muddle up the meaning:
- Musidorus found his sicknes grow greatly: so that fearing some suddaine accident, he delivered the chest to Kalender: which was full of most pretious stones, gorgeously and cunningly set in diverse manners, desiring him [Kalender] he [Kalender] would keep those trifles, and if he [Musidorus] died, he [Kalender] would bestow so much of it as was needfull to finde out and redeeme a young man, naming himselfe Daiphantes, as then in the handes of Laconia pirates. (p. 16)
- (d) The shift of subject proves disconcerting; this "fault" abounds:

But the fishermen made such speed into the haven, that they absented his [Musidorus's] eyes from beholding the issue: where being entered, he [awkward shift of subject] could procure neither them nor any other as then to put themselves into the sea: so that

beyng [supposedly modifies a he to come] as full of sorrow for being unable to doe anything, as voide of counsell how to doe anything, besides, that sickness grew something upon him, the honest shepheards [change back to plural subject], Strephon and Claius (who being themselves true friends, did the more perfectly judge the justnesse of his sorrowe) advise him, that he should mitigate somewhat of his woe, since he had gotten an amendment in fortune, being come from assured persuasion of his death (p. 11)

The sentence-form in the Apologie is obviously more simple than that in the Arcadia. And it is not alone the comparative brevity of the sentences that produces this simplicity, for even the longest periods in the Apologie.— and there are at least 16 of over 100 words—are handled with a firmer grip than sentences of approximately the same length in the Arcadia. The very long sentence which may be broken up into more or less complete parts is not so involved and loose as it generally is in the Arcadia. It is more easily intelligible in its parts and in the relations of its parts. The following sentence of 168 words shows the care that Sidney could exercise to mold his idea in such form that it could be grasped as a whole. Such care is typical of his workmanship in the Apologie.

But when, by the balance of experience, it was found that the astronomer, looking to the stars, might fall into a ditch, that the inquiring philosopher might be blind in himself, and the mathematician might draw forth a straight line with a crooked heart; then lo! did proof, the overruler of opinions, make manifest, that all these are but serving sciences, which, as they have each a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistress-knowledge, by the Greeks called $d\rho\chi_{irekropikij}$, which stands, as I think, in the knowledge of a man's self, in the ethic and politic consideration, with the end of well-doing, and not of well-knowing only:—even as the saddler's next end is to make a



See Table, p. 60.

There is, however, a notable example of a sentence of 252 words, which has a distinct design consisting of 8 parallel causal clauses, but which Sidney confuses, apparently by inadvertance. Collins comments thus: "Here [in the middle of the sentence] Sidney confuses the syntax by inserting a principal clause, forgetting that the principal clause giving the conclusion to be derived from all the causal clauses is coming at the end of the sentence." (p. 88)

good saddle, but his further end to serve a noble faculty, which is horsemanship; so the horseman's to soldiery; and the soldier not only to have the skill, but to perform the practice of a soldier. (Cook, p. 12)

It is not my purpose to treat with detail the syntactical lapses in the Apologie, for the texts used as the basis of my discussion have with thoroughness (when taken in conjunction) stressed these defects. Many of them could be shown to spring from the unadvanced stage that English prose had reached in the Age of Elizabeth. The wonder rather is that Sidney could contrive a logical vehicle, on the whole, so lucid and so free from oddities as a present-day reader finds the style of the Apologie to be. The management of pronouns is sometimes loose. Professor Cook notes: 2 instances of the omission of the relative; 2 of which referring to persons; a very awkward passage in which who, following the word Sylla, refers to Caesar's, appearing earlier in the sentence, thus:

Collins notes a which (p. 26, l. 26) that has no definite antecedent, but that requires the reader to gather up from the main clause an adequate antecedent. Personal pronouns also, he finds, are not always provided with proper references. Cook notes substitutions: as for that (2); did not for had not (1); without for unless (3). He also records 6 examples of so . . . as used to mean so . . . that; but only in one case, it seems to me, is the lapse more than awkward, and it is worse than awkward in that case for reasons that lie outside the construction itself; namely, the very confusing introduction, at the worst possible point, of another as; thus, not to mention the further annoying interruption after the second as:

Besides, one word so, as it were begetting another, as, be it in rime or measured verse, by the former a man shall have a near guess to the follower. (p. 34, 11. 2-4)

One could probably not unearth from the Apologie a sentence better calculated than the foregoing to exhibit Sidney's weakness. But although the sentence has nothing to commend it, when one encounters it in its context the meaning comes at least half way to meet one. I should not wish to appear to palliate Sidney's offenses against the integrity of sentence-architecture. On the other hand, I am convinced that all the emphasis that can be reasonably laid upon the defects hitherto cited and upon others to be found in the Apologie is insufficient to alter the conclusion that Sidney. considered as the pioneer of English criticism, commands a sentence-structure which, despite the apparent laxity of his punctuation, is lucid, an admirable logical instrument, free from the barbarous and fantastic irregularities that make the Arcadian sentence an equally admirable instrument for its different purpose.

The foregoing study of the Arcadia and a comparison of the best of the recent texts of the Apologie divulge a fact very pertinent to our present purpose; namely, that Sidney was little concerned with the rigors of sentence-form as such; and that he gave no attention to niceties in punctuation. The laxity of Elizabethan punctuation is proverbial; and although we do not know what Sidney's punctuation was, it is perfectly apparent after a comparison of several texts of the Apologie derived more or less indirectly from a hypothetical manuscript—or manuscripts—that punctuation played only a slightly rhetorical part—never a scrupulously logical part—in the expression of Sidney's ideas.

The texts upon which I have based my conclusions are,



^{*}An Apologie for Poetrie, 1595. Carefully edited by Edward Arber, London, 5 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W. C. 1 April 1868. The basis of this text is clearly the version "printed for Richard Olney." Because this version has been used freely in the compilation of all three of the texts cited below, I have chosen for the most part not to employ it in deriving my deductions.

The Defence of Poesy, Otherwise known as An Apology for Poetry. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Albert S. Cook. Ginn & Company. 1890. I assume that Professor Cook's text is the result of a collation of Arber's reprint of the Olney edition, and Flügel's reprint of the Ponsonby edition, since his variants (pp. 184-189) he gathers from

with slight and—so far as our purpose is concerned—unimportant exceptions, composed of substantially the same words in the same order. Yet the distribution of stops—particularly of full stops—differs widely with the various readings. This flexibility of sentence-form is brought home by numerous examples in which one editor has placed in one sentence-form what another places in two or three or four sentence-forms. More significant instances for our purpose, however, are those in which the disparity between the readings of the editors is far greater than that indicated above. On p. 60 the 190 words which Arber marshals in 10 periods (thus, 12, 30, 25, 6, 9, 7, 7, 6, 31, 57), 10 Shuckburgh places in 11 (splitting Arber's last into 19, 38), Cook in 3 (12, 140, 38). But Collins places the 190 words in one massive sentence; thus:

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso," 12

sweete poesie," that hath aunciently had Kings, Emperors, Senators, great Captaines, such as, besides a thousand others, Dauid, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus, not onely to fauour Poets, but to be Poets," and of our neerer times can present for her Patrons a Robert, King of Sicil, the great king Francis of France, King

such a collation. He modernises the spelling and punctuation. (Preface, p. v.)

An Apologie for Poetrie by Sir Philip Sidney. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press (From the Text of 1595). With Notes, Illustrations and Glossary. By Evelyn Shuckburgh, M. A. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1891. This text, having for its basis the Arber reprint, is the result of the collation of some seven editions. (Preface, pp. v-x.) "...but on the whole the present edition, with some sparing changes in spelling and punctuation, reproduces that of 1595."

Bidney's Apologie for Poetrie. Edited with an Introduction and Notes. By J. Churton Collins. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1907. The text is founded on the Olney edition, which he considers "as a rule, preferable". But Professor Collins derived his reading directly from the text in the Biseasthan Critical Besays of Gregory Smith. "....but I have not followed him in certain rearrangements of paragraphs, and I have modified the punctuation." (Preface, p. iv.)

But it is often the case that these forms are not, strictly speaking, sentences at all, but merely fragments.

²⁰ Only 3 of these are, strictly speaking, sentences; but they are so punctuated.

¹⁴ Cook ?

Arber . ff. by cap.

¹⁸ Cook !

M Cook ;

Iames of Scotland," "such Cardinals as Bembus and Bibiena," such famous Preachers and Teachers as Beza and Melancthon," so learned Philosophers as Fracastorius and Scaliger," so great Orators as Pontanus and Muretus," so piercing wits as George Buchanan," so graue Counsellors as," besides many, but before all," that Hospittall of Fraunce," then whom (I thinke) that Realme neuer brought forth a more accomplished iudgement, more firmely builded upon vertue. I say these, with numbers of others, not onely to read others Poesies, but to Poetise for others reading," that Poesie, thus embraced in all other places, should onely find in our time a hard welcome in England, I thinke the very earth lamenteth it, and therfore decketh our Soyle with fewer laurels then it was accustomed."

Whatever may have been the reasons for the differences in punctuation to be noted in these various readings, we are not concerned with them here. That there is no thoroughgoing attempt on the part of these editors to adjust the punctuation of their original (or originals, as the case may be) to the exigencies of nineteenth-century punctuation is clear, for many opportunities to do this they all fail to grasp. Such laxities as the many sentences beginning with which, whereof, wherein, and similar words (of which there are 11 instances in the first 20 pages of Cook's edition, and many also in the others), indicate no fervid desire to modernize in this respect at least. But our ignorance of Sidney's punctuation necessarily lessens our interest in the reasons that these editors may have had for differing, often widely, in their punctuation. Suppose that the differences arise from collation of The results we shall derive are the same, varying sources. whatever the reason.

The freedom with which approximately the same words are, more or less arbitrarily, shunted off into sentences of various lengths, is further shown by the following table. Arber

¹⁸ Cook -

[&]quot; Arber :

¹⁶ Cook .

¹⁷ Cook . ff. by cap.

¹⁹ I have here used Arber to represent Shuckburgh also, as their punctuation is much the same.

spreads out in 7 periods what Shuckburgh, Cook, and Collins respectively place in 3, 4, and 4. It is, even superficially considered, significant that what Cook puts in 3 periods (60, 36, 27), Collins puts in 1 (124); and that what Cook puts in 1 (69), Collins puts in 3 (9, 25, 36). A table and the passage involved follow:

Arber pp. 20_21 7 periods	Shuckburgh p. 3 3 periods	Cook pp. 2–3 4 periods	Collins p. 3 4 periods
97 14	97	60 36	124
13		27	
9	69	69	9
25			25
8 28	28		36
194	194	19220	194

Nay, let any historie be brought, that can say any VVriters were there before them, if they were not men of the same skil, as Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named: who having beene the first of that Country, that made pens deliuerers of their knowledge to their posterity, may justly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning: for not only in time they had this priority (although in it self antiquity be venerable) but went before them, as causes to drawe with their charming sweetnes, the wild vntamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as Amphion was sayde to move stones with his poetrie, to build Thebes. And Orpheus to be listened to by beastes, indeed, stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were Liuius, Andronicus, and Ennius. So in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be Treasure-house of Science, were the Poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our English were Gower and Chawcer.

After whom, encouraged and delighted with theyr excellent foregoing, others have followed, to beautifie our mother tongue, as wel in the same kinde as in other Arts. (Arber, pp. 20-21)

The slight discrepancy in the total number of words is to be explained by Cook's reading itself and foregoing, and the others' reading it self and fore going.

The very ease with which Sidney's periods or, more exactly, his pauses, lend themselves to manipulation indicates his concern for something more vital than the rigors of sentence-form as such, or of a system of punctuation at all akin to that we follow to-day. This more vital concern was rhythm,—rhythm developed by cadence.²¹

There are two important reasons why cadence in Latin and in English must be discriminated: the quantitative system of accent in Latin is one that English does not share; and the polysyllabic nature of the Latin vocabulary produces a different effect from the dissyllabic and monosyllabic English vocabulary.²² Cadence is most simply treated through the theory of the cursus. "The main object of the cursus is to secure an interval between stressed and unstressed syllables," writes Professor Clark. To some such scheme it is necessary to relate the rhythms of Sidney's prose, especially in view of his profound admiration for Cicero's craftsmanship. Professor Clark distinguishes in numerous prose three forms of the cursus: 1. cursus planus (5 syllables with accent on 1 and 4), as in voces testantur; 2. cursus tardus (6 syllables with accent on 1 and 4), as in méa curátio; 3. cursus velox (7 syllables with accent on 1 and 6), as in gaudia pervenire. He remarks that Cicero's favorite ways of ending sentences correspond to these 3 cursus.

Applying this system to a famous passage in the *Apologie*, with such adjustment as the essential differences of the languages entail, we shall see that Sidney had little interest in sentence-form as such, but an inversely great interest in cadence.

He [the Poet] beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margent with interpretations, and load the memory with doubtfulnesse: but he commeth to you with words set in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well in-

Esidney's Ciceronianism has been crisply commented upon by various critics, notably by Clark, Albert C., in *English Literature and the Classics*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 122, 128-9; and Krapp, G. P., in *The Rise of English Literary Pross*, Oxford University Press, 1915, p. 265.

²⁵ For my treatment of this whole matter I am largely endebted to Clark, Albert C., Prose Rhythm in English, Oxford, 1918.

chaunting skill of Müsicke; and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner; and, pretending no more, doth intende the winning of the mind from wickednesse to vertue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholsom things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant tast; which, if one should beginne to tell them the nature of Aloes or Rhabarb they should receive, woulde sooner take their Phisicke at their eares then at their mouth.

There appear to be 15 cadences in this passage; 9 of them commata, marked by a slight pause; 3 of them cola, marked by a more decided pause. The cropping up of the semicolon, which is apparently not provided for in classical numerous prose, reminds us again that we are handicapped by our ignorance of Sidney's punctuation. As for the two semicolons here, they may reasonably be replaced by the colon to indicate fairly heavy pauses. At the end we have the clausula, or period.

The English equivalent of each of the three forms of the cursus is to be found in the foregoing excerpt: 1. the cursus planus in "with obscure definitions" (voces testantur); 2. the cursus tardus in "mémory with doubtfulnesse" (méa curátio); 3. the cursus velox in "mèn from the chimney corner" (gáudia perveníre). But it is notable that the majority of Sidney's cadences here do not adapt themselves strictly to any of the forms of the cursus. It is further notable that out of the 15 cadences 8 receive stress on the last syllable, a phenomenon foreign to Latin. This deviation from the classical accentual system emphasizes specifically the strongly monosyllabic nature of the English vocabulary: 7 of these 8 endings are monosyllables.

Cadences are further made various by the distribution of the caesurae, which coincide with word-divisions. In the two examples of the cursus planus to be found in the passage under discussion, the caesurae differ in number and position: "with / obscure / definitions"; "delightfull / proportion".



^{*}From Shuckburgh's edition, p. 25. The punctuation of this passage differs with the edition; but the cadences remain—with but one or two negligible exceptions—intact.

After making all proper allowance for slight variations and substitutions, we find that only 5 out of these 15 cadences may be considered the equivalents of *cursus*. Ten of them, chiefly for reasons already pointed out, are what Professor Clark calls "indigenous".

In conclusion, it may be well to say that, although our consideration of the Arcadia has concerned itself largely with irregularities and "faults", I conceive of these eccentricities as the defects of the qualities of the Arcadian sentence. of them are doubtless inadvertent; most of them are unquestionably deliberate. The abandon, even wantonness, which results is surely one of the qualities which Sidney sought for his extravagant romance. His style is as apposite to his purpose as is the later style of Henry James to his very different purpose. The depicting of mental states in fiction requires, in the light of a new psychology, a medium subtler and more flexible than is ordinary speech; it may even demand a disregard for some of the accepted forms of idiom, etc. ties of Henry James's sentences are not mannerisms: they subtly contribute to the atmosphere of his situations. In like manner Sidney has taken liberties with sentence-form to help produce an atmosphere which is fitting for his wanton, often violent, adventures.

Turning from the enervating atmosphere in which the Arcadian sentence rankly thrives to the Apologie for Poetrie, we are exhilarated as by the coolness of a higher intellectual elevation. In both we hear the music of rhythm; but in the Apologie it is less hampered by the grotesque load it bears; it pulsates more freely, more simply. The Apologie is, as the ancients said of their prose, "winged with rhythm".

UNITY, COHERENCE, AND EMPHASIS

H. B. LATHROP

The attempt to discover in ancient rhetoric a satisfactory theoretical basis for modern writing broke down long ago. No thoroughgoing effort has been made to modify the traditional matter fundamentally, and to create a new theory adequate to the greatly expanded range of prose in modern For years, empirical methods in the teaching of composition have been avowed by most of those concerned with the subject. Rhetoric has dropped out of the college curriculum; it is not even studied by specialists in the teaching of composition. The rule of thumb takes the place of any body of doctrine; and yet at the same time, with obvious inconsistency, some scraps of theory are snatched up and applied in the most sweepingly general fashion; and our textbooks present the appearance of a disorderly incongruity of conventions of language, suggestions for the collection of material and the taking of lecture-notes, the débris of a discarded theory, and principles which foreshadow the possibility of a dimly discerned new synthesis. The "minimum of theory" which every publisher's announcement of a new book in the field tells us is retained is very tenaciously adhered to, but very uncritically accepted.

The general laws of structure, especially, are now canonical; they are insisted on with almost mystic fervor, but without rigorous examination of their validity. Whether or no any coherent body of principles of rhetoric may be possible, it is certainly the case that what few principles are offered to the student should be solidly and fundamentally right. The purpose of this paper is to subject to scrutiny the central dogmas of the somewhat amorphous but very real modern assemblage of rhetorical beliefs,—namely, the teachings involved in the use of the terms, Unity, Coherence, and Emphasis.

These terms are due to Professor Barrett Wendell's English Composition,1 which following the efforts of the Scotch theorists, especially of Campbell, Bain, and Minto.2 to adapt and enlarge the conceptions of antiquity to modern needs, has had such an effect upon our modern theory and teaching of the subject. The word emphasis, indeed, is Professor G. R. Carpenter's amendment of Professor Wendell's original word mass, but the conception of Professor Wendell has remained since his time unchanged and almost unchallenged as the basis of our instruction in the structure of the sentence. the paragraph, and the whole composition. The discussion of the three terms and of the ideas which they represent requires a few words of definition; for there is some inadvertence in the common employment of them, and each is to be understood in a distinctly technical sense. Unity, then, as Professor Wendell employs the term, and as the term must be employed in distinction from coherence, has to do solely with the substance of thought in a composition. Any element of structure—"piece of style"—possesses unity if it contains that which is essential to the realization of its fundamental idea, and no more. A composition fails of unity by defect if it omits that which is essential to the completeness of its thought. It fails—and this is the more frequent case—by excess, if it admits irrelevance, or digression, or appendages. A composition is not lacking in unity in Professor Wendell's sense if its parts are merely misplaced; that is a question of coherence or of emphasis. In Professor Wendell's use of the term, unity is violated only if that which is present has no place in the composition, or else if something essential is wholly



¹ Wendell, Barrett, English Composition, 1891.

² Campbell, George, Philosophy of Rhetoric, 1776.

Bain, Alexander, Manual of Rhetorio, 1st ed., 1866; 2d ed. 1887-1888. Minto, William, Manual of English Proce Literature, 1872.

It is worthy of remark that rhetoric, in the sense of the theory of prose style, has received no attention in England, but has been treated in English almost exclusively by Scotchmen, including Scotch Canadians, and Americans. To many in both countries the language is more or less foreign; and in both the spread of popular education brings the children of uneducated parents in numbers to institutions of higher learning.

⁸ Carpenter, G. R., Exercises in Rhetoric and English Composition, 1891; Exercises in Rhetoric and Composition (Advanced Course), 1898.

left out. The relevant matter being selected, the arrangement of it in logical order is a matter of coherence, sane speech being coherent as opposed to the incoherence, the lack of consecution, of the speech of the insane or the feeble-minded. Further, under the head of coherence is included the art of indicating the logical relation of parts by special devices of transition, coherence in this sense being opposed to the lack of cohesion, the falling to pieces, of material objects the parts of which are not held together by forces binding each to each. Emphasis, finally, is that aspect of structure which gives conspicuousness to the various parts in proportion to their importance.

There can be no doubt of the meaning of English Composition in the use of any of its terms. With a fidelity and scrupulousness as rare as they are commendable, a definition once given is adhered to without deviation or enlargement of meaning. Unity is concerned with "what may be included in a given composition"; the principle of unity is: "Every composition should group itself about one central idea." Unity "concerns itself chiefly with the immaterial ideas for which the material written words stand." The test of unity is the practicability of being neatly summarized, a whole composition in a paragraph, a paragraph in a sentence. The analogy employed to illustrate the degrees of amplitude in the scale of a composition is drawn from the grouping of statistics; the scale varies as the statistics concern an individual, a family, a group of families, a state or a nation.

The unity in view, as the comparison implies, is the aggregation of discrete elements. Coherence is kept rigidly distinct from unity, and although the aspect of coherence as the systematic development of material is not wholly left out of sight, yet the aspect of it which is most insisted upon is consecutiveness in passing from part to part; the phrase which most often recurs is, "the relation of each part to its neighbor". Nowhere is a process of development thought of as a

⁴ Wendell, Barrett, Buglish Composition, p. 29.

^{*} Ibid., p. \$4.

^{*} Ibid., passim.

^{*} Ibid., p. 81.

whole. Emphasis, quaintly enough, is defined solely with reference to visual impressions: "The chief parts of every composition should be so placed as readily to catch the eye." The references to spoken discourse are throughout brief and grudging; and the impression is left that the interpretation of written or printed discourse can be considered as a sheerly visual phenomenon, without reference to any psychological complex dependent on speech. The essential nature of emphasis, however, is not obscured by this accident of false perspective, which produces serious inadequacy only in the treatment of the sentence. Unity is the unity of details assembled around a principle; coherence mainly closeness of relation between a part and its neighbors; mass or emphasis the relative distinction of parts to the eye. In fine, the whole treatment rests upon the idea of intelligent aggregation.

This group of terms seems to me to have served a very useful purpose in providing a simpler and clearer and more general theory of structure than that which preceded it; and yet I am obliged to admit that it appears to me unsound in logic and to some degree harmful in practice.

It may support this view to note that the distinction between unity and coherence laid down by Professor Wendell has proved practically impossible to maintain. Certainly a composition which lacks a fundamental conception or which admits digressions and irrelevant matter lacks unity; but the human mind refuses to admit that an illogically arranged composition does not, in so far as it is illogical, also lack unity. Thus even Professor Pearson could not avoid speaking of sentences which lack unity of expression as well as of those which lack unity of thought. But unity of expression, from Professor Wendell's point of view, is meaningless. The only unity he recognizes is unity of thought. The impossibility of holding fast to this idea becomes especially clear in the case of sentences. Take any sentence in which the



Wendell, Barrett, English Composition, p. 29, cf. p. 100.

^{*}Pearson, Henry G., The Principles of Composition, 1897, p. 22. Professor Pearson writes as a pupil of Professor Wendell and as trained in his school. See also Brown and Barnes, The Art of Writing English, 1912, p. 120.

point of view is changed; for example, "Boot-black and Tonsorial Parlors", or, "It was in the mountains, and a country thickly overgrown with trees," or, "Students have come to the University with only fifty cents and a complete stranger." There is perfectly sound sense in the thought of each of these sentences; that is to say from Professor Wendell's point of view they possess unity. The words, however, by which the ideas logically parallel are expressed, are not applicable to ideas in the same category. Such expressions are irresistibly felt to be lacking in unity.

Nor is the mental obstinacy which refuses to make a distinction in such cases between coherence and unity merely a question of habit—of the difficulty of adhering to a technical meaning which differs in a subtle way from the meaning of common life. It is a thoroughly justified act of unconscious logic; something which the mind cannot help doing, and which it would stultify itself by not doing. For the evolution of a fundamental conception, even the working out in logical order of the implications of a proposition, is merely the realization of its unity.

Everybody recognizes the truth of this view when dealing with works of the imagination. The Ancient Mariner, for example, has a separable theme; but its unity,—its true substance,—cannot be wrenched from the full perfection of the poem itself in its entire evolution. It is a thing felt, experienced, in the progress of the poem through its continuous development. The more profound and vital the unity of a composition, the more close the knitting of part with part, the less possible to detach the ideas from the language, the thing signified from the sign. It is all in every part.

Just as a living organism would lack unity if its parts were dislocated, just as a dog would lack unity if his leg were cut off and made to grow out of his back, so a composition lacks unity if its members are not in normal relation to its fundamental idea. We speak of the Three Unities, not of the Three Coherences. The vital unity, the unity of action, is the unity not merely of a theme but of a process. A process, a transaction, fulfils a course; it has a beginning, a middle, and

an end, and is not one unless "by the law of necessity or probability" each leads successively to each. Now, a process is just what every composition is. A composition is a thing fulfilled in time. Criticism recognizes this as a truth in the case of a play or an epic. Is it less clear that an argument or an exposition is a transaction? a whole, not only in conception but in evolution? Surely the progress of a speech from exordium to peroration is one in its sequence quite as much as is the progress of a drama from exposition to dénouement. A well wrought argument,-Swift on the Conduct of the Allies, Lyell on Geologic Change, Bright on the Crimean War.—has the excitement and interest of a well wrought plot. of unity manifest through a variety of successive experi-The same thing is true in a measure of a good exposition, of Huxley or Newman on a liberal education, for example: it is one as a process in its development by means of illustration or analogy to full realization quite as much as in its rejection of irrelevant material and in its avoidance of digressions. In a word, the unity of theme, directive unity, the unity of a line, is not more truly unity than the unity of connection, the unity of a chain or the unity of a woven fabric.

It is plain, then, that orderly sequence—coherence—is an aspect of unity. But emphasis, the giving of distinction to the more significant parts may as easily be shown to be an aspect of coherence. Coherence, orderliness, is simply arrangement in a systematic way, as by deduction or induction, from effect to cause or from cause to effect, from top to bottom or There is no one plan that is preëminently from bottom to top. coherent; a coherent result is produced by any systematic principle of guidance appropriate to the case. But the order that gives distinction to that which is significant is rational, and therefore coherent. It is not possible to follow Professor Wendell when he declares that the principle of coherence and that of emphasis may come into conflict. If logic and emotion appear at all to quarrel, it is because emotion is guided by the deeper logic. It is true that one type of coherence may at times conflict with another. Thus the order moving from cause to effect may be incompatible with the order of discovery; or the order of progress from small to great may conflict with the order from east to west. Hence it may be necessary at times to select from several orders of progress that one which most truly represents the purpose of the writer. A higher or more subtle logic may conflict with a lower or more obvious one.

Furthermore, genuinely faulty emphasis is in itself faulty logic. When Washington Irving insisted upon the imminence of danger at sea by saying, "The mere starting of a nail, the yawning of a seam," might give Death entrance,10 he was illogical. He had formed in his mind a class of accidents extraordinary in that being so slight they might be so disastrous. But he had become confused by the greater seriousness of the second accident, and was led away into thinking of his class as one of accidents extraordinary in seriousness instead of in strangeness. The order, "The yawning of a seam, the mere starting of a nail", is requisite not only for emphasis, but also for coherence. So, to take an illustration from Bain, Dr. Johnson was at pains to form an exact balance in the following sentence: "Kindness is preserved by a constant reciprocation of benefits or interchange of pleasures; but such benefits only can be bestowed as others are capable to receive, and such pleasures imparted only as others are qualified to enjoy". This sentence is ill written not only because it throws too great a stress on pleasures and benefits, receive and enjoy, but because there is no real distinction at all to be drawn between the bases of kindness, because the distinction between pleasures and benefits in this passage is unreal. Indeed, no argument would seem to be required to prove that a method of arrangement which fails to concentrate the attention on the most important parts of a composition must be unsound in logic.

An anti-climax or an inadequate antithesis or a faulty apportionment of space, or a suspending of the sense which does



^{10 &}quot;As I heard the waves dashing along the sides of the ship, and roaring in my very ear, it seemed as if Death were raging round this floating prison, seeking for his prey: the mere starting of a nail, the yawning of a seam, might give him entrance." Sketch Book, The Voyage, Wnickerbocker Edition, 1894, I: 13.

not give distinction to a vital idea,—each of these is not only bad in emphasis, it is bad in logic.

Since coherence is but an aspect of unity, and emphasis is a type of coherence, so emphasis may be conceived of as a form of unity, as a realization of the central directing principle of a composition. For what is it that gives importance to any part of a composition? No part is important in itself; every part is important only to the end of that total of which it forms a part. The total in this case is the entire composition; the end, that for which the composition exists. is that which makes it one. To attain that end, to be one, it must have the due emphasis appropriately distributed among its parts. Thus the conclusion, the most important part of the work, normally draws attention to that for which the whole composition exists, and contributes thus to hold it all together. So the centering of attention on one main character, or the directing of a course of thought to a culmination, or any other device of emphasis is likewise plainly a device of unity—the emphasis exists only in carrying out the unity.

It is therefore plain that instead of three fundamental principles of structure, unity, coherence, and emphasis, we must recognize only one, namely unity, of which the other two are manifestations or phases or subsidiary consequences. But the converse is not true. It is not true, as is sometimes said, that any one of the three principles may be regarded as primary, and that each of the other principles may be deduced from it, conceived of as mere phases of it. It is almost selfevident that parts presuppose a whole, that the logical ordering of parts presupposes subordination to the end or aim of the whole. It is the unity, the total, which directs and con-There may be a whole without parts—a composition consisting of a single word—"Begone!" There can be no part except of a whole. Similarly with emphasis. Even if we take the most pragmatistic view of reason, if we believe that our mind is the mere servant of our continued existence, and regard as fundamental the emphasis manifested in the mere selection of material to which we pay attention, yet even

that emphasis is determined by the nature of the organism which is to be preserved. The emphasis of the attention manifests the conscious direction of the mind, but the unconscious direction of the nature governs the whole aim and character of the work. In fine, the principles of structure all rise from the principle of unity.

This view is confirmed by the analogy of the other arts. What is it that gives unity of effect to a painting? Mainly proper emphasis. Distributed emphasis, unconcentrated ungradated light and shade, many centers of attention, make a painting "spotty", lacking in repose, lacking in unity. Architecture obtains the effect of unity in the main by the proper salience of masses, and loses it by the distribution of emphasis. In music the unity obtained, being a matter of the effect of experiences in time, is more closely analogous to the sequences of logic. Yet here also emphasis is fundamental to the very rhythm, the form of which is essential to any unity whatever. "Proposition" and "answer", "theme" and "development" succeed each other in relations, which relations are essential to the unity of the piece. Moreover, the most fundamental purpose of the process of musical development. the ground of repetition and variation and amplification and all the other manipulations which a musical theme goes through in the making up of a composition, is not to dazzle or amuse with a species of musical jugglery, but to occupy the time of the composition in due proportion with each musical idea, to dwell upon each idea adequately, to present it from all sides with enticing variety, to hold it before the mind at the same time that the composition keeps moving forward, so that the total shall not have any part in excess or defect, but shall be a balanced whole, a complex and completely realized unity. There is a unity not only of line or chain or texture, but of pattern.

Or we may draw an analogy from physical structures. Any mechanical structure is made with a purpose, and this purpose is what makes it one thing. A chisel is designed to cut wood as a result of the application of blows applied to the handle in the direction of its long axis. This is its prin-

ciple of unity; to carry out this idea it is built together of parts, blade and handle; this is its coherence. And it has a recognizable form, faces and edges and such points of importance as the cutting edge and the head; this is its emphasis. And the fitting together of the parts, the relative form and unequal lines of resistance in the whole, are but the manifestation of its idea, the realization of its unity.

Such an example is a very simple and almost trivial instance of a truth that could be illustrated by the case of any structure used for a definite object. The *idea* of a building to house books of a certain kind, most conveniently for distribution to readers of a certain number and of a certain sort, under certain local conditions, determines the shape, the lighting, and the arrangement of a library. The *idea* of a practicable heavier-than-air flying machine for observation or for combat,—such an idea striving to be realized in such material and with such skill as men have at command at this moment in the progress of the world constrains the builder to make a frame of a given shape and weight, an engine of a definite type, and each minute part such as it individually is in form, size, and substance.

But the most profound and significant analogy of the written composition is with complex living organisms. For a written composition shares with the living thing this characteristic, that its parts are subordinate totals. The sentence or the paragraph or the group of paragraphs makes up a little complete composition with an inner and subordinate but none the less genuine life, as a cell or a group of cells or a whole system of groups of cells having related functions likewise possesses a subordinate but single life, and performs its functions in a sense independently, though in subordination to the unity of the entire organism.

A real unsoundness in theory inevitably leads to bad results in practice. Every teacher of experience well knows how difficult it is to prevent a large proportion of students from accepting the three principles in a purely formal and mechanical spirit. The naïve youth who "applies" coherence and then "applies" emphasis to his theme is not so uncom-

mon as to seem funny any longer. Indeed, the very system encourages him. The very idea of the existence of three coordinate principles makes it necessary for them to be "applied" in succession. The instructor and the instruction are likewise definitely misdirected. A wooden insistence on a topic sentence and an external procedure in paragraph development is too common in English classes. It is easy to be misled by the mere simplicity of the three names into regarding them as something more than convenient catch-words. The substitution of an external, mechanical orderliness as an ideal of structure for the internal logic of natural development, if I may venture the suggestion, seems to me to have "caught on" as a current fashion of style. We docket, file, and order our material like a card catalogue. An over-exact marking off of the paragraphs and a superficially obvious method of developing them are to be noticed in most of the conscientious expository articles which appear in our magazines.

The view that the real merit of a composition as a piece of structure consists of the evolution of its central theme to its full development, that the logical sequence of the parts grows naturally from the implications of the theme, that the relative salience of various elements results inevitably from the way in which the theme is apprehended by the writer, this doctrine encourages meditation, resulting in firmness of grasp of the central principle combined with a vivid realization of its manifestations in detail. On the other hand, the doctrine of the three co-ordinate principles tends of itself to encourage manipulation, the consideration of external effects, and a mechanical view of structure.

The idea of organic as distinguished from purely mechanical unity is one of the intellectual conquests of modern science. To comprehend this idea as applied to written composition helps to give intellectual dignity to the work in that subject and to lay a foundation for the subtler and more difficult applications of the same idea in other domains of the intellectual life. The world has moved away from the inadequate fancy of the Pythagoreans, to whom the sphere was the

ideal form—a monotonous, uninteresting affair, without top or bottom, parts, or functions—and delights in the unity of organic nature, of living things, infinite in type, of which the more truly they are one, the more varied and complex and special and in a sense independent are the parts, all the parts together subserving the end of the organism. A cat, a bluebird, a shark, or a man is more effectively a distinct unit than an amoeba or a bacterium. The emphasis of the wholethe relative salience of the parts to the eye or the hand—is nothing but the outer form of the organism, which results from its inner structure, and which is but one manifestation of its special and peculiar way of life. It is not here contended that emphasis and orderly collocation are not distinguishable aspects of the structural unit or that it may not be advantageous to consider them separately in theory or practice; but it is contended that they should be understood not as co-ordinate principles, not as independent entities, but as aspects of the one great directing idea of structure, as aspects of the unity which results from complex adjustments to a single end. As the external form manifests the internal form—as the body realizes the idea latent in the skeleton, as the face is a covered skull—so the "emphasis" results from the "coherence". Again, since the purpose of an act is a result of a choice among alternatives, and as this purpose determines the attitude of the members of an organism, so at times the emphasis determines the coherence—the stress on the most important point determines the adjustment of the parts to the special end. And finally as all the acts and aspects of the organism are manifestations of one life, so the unity of the composition pervades and is expressed by all its qualities and all its parts.

It is in the structure of the sentence that this conception is most obviously and fruitfully applied. In larger units, in paragraphs, or chapters, or completed totals of any amplitude, it is possible to consider the three principles independently without much difficulty or obvious contradiction. In sentences, the fact that we are face to face with the ultimate objects of attention brings forward insistently the question

whether directing the attention towards these objects is primarily a matter of coherence, of emphasis, or of unity—whether it is determined by the relative importance of particular things, or by the logical relations subsisting among those things, or by some more general underlying tendency. Another reason why the sentence brings forward the relation of the parts more clearly than the paragraph or the whole composition is that the relations of the sentence are made manifest by syntax, and that the analysis of a sentence is therefore more rigid and exacting than that of a paragraph or a larger unit of discourse.

First among the questions of sentence structure is the question of the subordination of predication. How is it best to regard the difference between primer sentences and Miltonic periods? Here is a string of beads from a child's reader: "I see the bird. It is pretty. It is yellow. The bird hops in the tree. It is a wild canary." Here is the towering architecture of Milton's Paradise Lost:

High on a throne of royal state, which far Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind, Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold, Satan exalted sat, by merit raised To that bad eminence;

Milton's sentence differs from the primer sentences in all points of structure. His form, the hypotactic form, brings out logical relations not made manifest by the paratactic or, if I may so call it, the atactic form. Subordination, in other words, is a question of coherence. Again, the discrete form emphasizes each separate element, while the organized form emphasizes the whole to which the parts contribute; that is, hypotaxis and parataxis are aspects of emphasis. But at bottom the very language in which the relation of parts is discussed implies that the parts cannot be fundamental, that it is the conception of the total which determines the logical order and the relative distinction of the elements. The styles of Mr. H. G. Wells and of Henry James differ essentially in the kind of unit by which their minds proceed,—by their

sense of what really is one thing at a time. The effort to present each impression as complete with its innumerable elements and delicacies of definition is the very heart of James's method. Mr. Wells is content with a series of rough approximations finally sketching out a fairly exact outline. De Quincey carried a larger load at one time than Macaulay, and defined the form of his ideas with more exquisite precision. It is because the intellectual units of the two writers differ that the logical structure and the emphasis of their sentences differ.

Herbert Spencer compares the intellectual efforts of a reader to the physical labor of a man carrying away a load. The weakest is obliged to carry the least at a time; the strongest can take the most.11 This comparison, true and useful so far as it goes, does not point out that the superior mind not only carries larger loads but gives them a different shape. In these times of war, a comparison with military organizations may not be out of place. A squad, a platoon, a company, a battalion, a regiment, a division, a corps, an army, differ in much more than in the fact that they contain more or fewer men. For one thing, the bigger the unit the less significant each private must be. But much more important is the fact that each organization is a specific kind of unit. fulfilling as a whole a single purpose. It is this—the idea of an army, its function as a tactical and strategic unit, and not its staff organization, or the hierarchy of its ranks, that makes an army. These things exist for it, not it for them. A more exact analogy may be drawn from the field of government. A city or a county is at once part of a state, and a unit by itself; and a state is likewise in some aspects subordinate to the federal republic and in some aspects quite independent of it; and every city or county or state has not merely a size but a character of its own. So the subordinate units of a complete composition are not merely sections cut out of it, but have a quality, an individual, minor life as well as a distinct bulk. In conclusion, the subordination of predi-



¹¹ Spencer, Herbert, The Philosophy of Style, New York, 1877, Appleton's edition, p. 25.

cation is fundamentally a matter of the size and nature of the intellectual units which the mind apprehends.

Another aspect of unity is the maintenance of a single point of view throughout a sentence. A writer may have the problem of describing in one sentence, for example, Bernand's wall paintings in one of the rooms in the White House at Washington. This French artist, a certain Bernand, made the decorations. He placed portraits of Washington's cabinet, in the form of medallions, on the ceiling, and painted festoons of fruits and vines on the walls. If the writer is thinking of the decorations primarily as the work of Bernand he will write a sentence somewhat like this: "The French artist Bernand painted on the ceiling medallion portraits of President Washington's cabinet, and on the walls decorations of fruits and vines." If he thinks of the work primarily with reference to the way in which it is placed, he will follow some such form as the following: "The ceiling is decorated with medallion portraits of President Washington's cabinet, by the French artist Bernand, and the walls with festoons of fruits and vines, by the same painter." Either form is rational, and the difference between them is in their point of view. But a vacillation between the two: "The ceiling is painted with medallion portraits of President Washington's cabinet by the French artist Bernand, and the walls he painted with festoons of fruits and vines," though inconsistent in emphasis and awkwardly incoherent, is primarily at fault because the writer lost hold of his central idea.

In reality this sentence exemplifies the most pervasive fault in the logic of sentence-structure, the failure of writers to recognize and maintain consistently a category upon which they have begun or which they have implied. Such expressions as the following, various as they are in external form, all are defective essentially because of this failure to apprehend the character of a class of things.

"The wind blows there three hundred and sixty-five days in the year and twenty-four hours per day."

"The gentleman suggested [past point of view] that I wait [present point of view] until the end of the month."

"All which were imps she cherished with her blood, To make her charms succeed and good."

In all these instances, the radical defect is the lack of a directive sense of totality; the maladjustment of parts is only a symptom of this constitutional vice.

The most ordinary devices of heightened emphasis, especially antithesis and climax, to say nothing of anaphora, rest upon the formation and clear indication of categories. If two things cannot be classed together, there is no point in contrasting them; if a succession of events does not form a series, there can be no climax in it; it is only parallel ideas the separateness of which can be stressed by repeating the introductory word of the expressions referring to them. In each of these cases the formation of a class, the unity of idea, is fundamental to the figure, while the orderly method or coherence, and the concentration upon a particular point, or emphasis, express this unity.

For illustration of this truth, consider Shakespeare's high-wrought rhetoric:

"What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!" The marvels of man's nature are at the same time associated as members of the same category and given separate distinction by the repetition of the word of reference how; the introductory and concluding pairs are twinned in nature and rhythm, and could not otherwise be opposed in antithetic balance; and the whole leads to a culmination, which could not be reached except by a progress up a series of similar steps.

Coherent progress from part to part depends chiefly upon the intelligent direction of the attention to the points made in order. Weil, in his well known Essay on the Order of Words in the Classic Languages, brings out the fact that the salience given to words at the ends and the beginnings of sentences subserves the effect of natural continuity, and creates a flowing unity of movement.¹² Each sentence tends to take its leap from some matter connected with what precedes, and to plant its foot in advance upon some new matter which again gives grounding for a spring forward. Hence it is that the most important part of the sentence is in the end, the next most important in the beginning, for what is to come is more important than what has gone before, although what has gone before gives importance to what is to come.

Such linking of sentence to sentence is part of the rudiments of style; the device is so familiar that it would be impertinent to dilate upon it. To one point only is it in place to call attention; namely, that as regards the individual sentence this method of arrangement has the aspect of emphasis, but as regards any larger unit of which the sentence forms a part it has the aspect of coherence.

Weil's discussion is concerned not only with the movement from sentence to sentence, but with the movement from member to member within the sentence. For a sentence is built up not of single words, but of groups of words, each of which makes up a subordinate kind of intelligible completeness. Now in writing of firm texture, there is a perpetual sense of springing progress not only from sentence to sentence but from group to group. Macaulay, though not one of the most notable of writers for continuity, may afford an example. From his essay on Lord Clive is taken the following passage, in which for convenience the lesser groups are divided by single diagonal lines, the larger by double ones:

"The entire history of British India / is an illustration of the great truth, / that it is not prudent / to oppose perfidy to perfidy, // and that the most efficient weapon with which men can oppose falsehood / is truth. During a long course of years, / the English rulers of India, / surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagements could bind, / have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; // and the event has proved / that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom." One great source of the rambling ineffectiveness of students'



²² Weil, Henri, The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with that in the Modern Languages. Translated by Charles W. Super, 1887. See especially pp. 28-35, 39.

themes is the absence of this kind of connection between the elements of sentences.

Ancient rhetoricians, who concerned themselves with the spoken language, based their ideas of structure upon the relations between the members of a sentence as the speaker divided them and as the listener heard them. In modern times, rhetorical theory has been almost wholly confined to the look of the written language on the page, and the grouping of words within the sentence has been left almost wholly to the elocutionist and the phonetician. Hence it may not be out of place to repeat their familiar generalizations here. A speaker utters and the consciousness of a listener apprehends as one, not single and separate words but groups of words. Within each group there is a single point of emphasis, marking out a single dominant word as the center of the group. The physical means of separating the groups and of giving distinction to the central words do not here concern us. Such a group, the smallest complete section, the real molecule of speech, may be called for distinction a group. A group of groups is heard and understood as in a way forming a larger unit, or member, and members may be grouped again into still larger masses, until a sentence is built up. Groups and members are practically always units of grammatical syntax, and they may or may not be marked off by punctuation. A fair illustration is provided by Bishop King's Sic Vita, which is analyzed with skill in Dr. S. S. Curry's Lessons in Vocal Expression.18

Like to the falling of a star,
Or as the flights of eagles are,
Or as the fresh spring's gaudy hue,
Or silver drops of morning dew,
Or like the wind that chafes the flood,
Or bubbles which on water stood,—
Even such is man, whose borrowed light
Is straight called in and paid to-night:
The wind blows out, the bubble dies;
The spring entombed in autumn lies;
The dew's dried up, the star is shot,
The flight is past;—and man forgot!

²² Curry, S. S., Lessons in Vocal Expression, Course I, Boston, ca. 1895.

Each of the first six lines is a group: it is uttered as one thing, and it has one center of interest (star, eagle, spring, dew, wind, bubbles). Against them all stands the next group, "Even such is man", setting forth man as the real subject of reflection, for whose sake all the previous matters have received attention; and the first member is brought to an end with the word to-night, the last group giving the ground for the comparison. Then, "The wind" makes a group, to which "blows out" answers, and the same relation is maintained between bubble and dies, spring and autumn, and the rest; and finally, "Man—forgot" completes the second large member, and brings the sentence to its close.

Now it is not difficult to consider the structure of this sentence under the three conceptions, unity, coherence, and emphasis. Its theme is distinct, its orderly progress markedly clear, and its points of culmination are conspicuous. At the same time, here again that which is emphasis in the part is the means of coherence for the whole; the stressed words of the smaller groups serve as means by which the relation of the groups is made plain. The dominant emphasis, furthermore, on man and forgot is indeed emphasis, but it is also the direct expression of the fundamental idea, or directing unity, of the sentence. Any other well constructed sentence would illustrate with similar distinctness the propositions which have already been put forward under so many aspects.

The physical means by which the formal logical relations of sentences are expressed to the ear, and through the ear to the mind, would make the same contentions almost mechanically obvious. It would be possible to separate these physical means of expression from articulate words, or in other words to utter the melody of the sentence; and if that were done with exactness, the whole logic of the sentence as regards the relations of the parts would be completely and precisely expressed. To do it, it would be necessary to utilize every means always necessary for the existence of a melody;—relative duration, pause, volume, discrete change of pitch, and in addition the sliding change of pitch characteristic of speech as distinct from song. Each element has a special function

as a means of expression; but the emphasis, the means of distinguishing the most significant parts, is obviously nothing but the culmination of a process which runs through the whole melody. If, for example, the emphasis is gained, as it mainly is, by a change in the direction of the slides of the voice, the change is as a physical fact inseparable from the slides on the other syllables. Whatever means of emphasis is in any given case employed, it is always tangibly a part of the whole melody; in other words it is a part of that which expresses the logical relations of the parts, or in rhetorical phraseology the coherence of the sentence. And as a whole, a sentence as a thing heard and addressing itself through the senses to the rational mind is a tune which sounds complete; that is to say, it is one as a process realized through the physical manifestations of its coherence and its emphasis.

The accepted formula will not quite work. It is an imperfectly fitting master-key; sometimes it turns a lock easily; in the next lock it must be humored a little; in another lock it scrapes and grates; and in another it refuses to budge. "Very well," it is natural to say, "after all, why not? These terms were not proposed as philosophic verities, but as convenient rough practical classifications. Professor Wendell found a bewildering confusion of empirical directions for the ordering of material in written compositions, and reduced the chaos to manageable simplicity. The formulas may not provide examples of clean logical division, they may occasionally be contradictory or inapplicable, but on the whole they work. Young people do not take their rhetoric so seriously as to be much hurt by the categories of the books. Why not let well alone?"

The whole course of the present discussion leaves the practical convenience of the three terms where it was. Nothing that is here said gives any grounds for abandoning them; coherence and emphasis remain definite and useful conceptions whether they are thought of as manifestations of unity or as principles co-ordinate with it. Emphasis, moreover, is a real and significant thing, whatever it is; and difficult cases are made not less but more manageable by an accurate defini-

tion of it. The fundamental immediate aims of this paper are to do something toward breaking up superficial views upon all aspects of the structure of written composition, and especially to aid in establishing the organic conception of unity for the mechanical conception of it; to cause unity to be thought of as a force and not as a fact, as an energy and not as a mere absence of transgression. Thus only can the mind be led to a recognition of the higher aspects of unity. portant among these, important even in elementary practice as well as in the development of the power of appreciation, is harmony of tone. A crude lack of sensibility to inappropriateness of diction is one of the most frequent faults of young writers, and one of the most difficult to combat. most lucid and the most cogent method of dealing with this matter is by a thorough explication of the idea of constructive unity, which will also lay a solid basis for the recognition of the high achievement of those writers who have succeeded in developing a higher unity from incongruity itself. Now, there is no place for this aspect of writing as a phase of structure under any of the three heads. There is no place for that imaginative power which is most manifest and most triumphant in reducing opposites to harmony, for the "electric power of combination" which finds in distant places and strange associations and apparent contradictions the support for the highest unity, the unity of conquest. Surely, though such matters may have little place in direct teaching, they should not be out of the range of our general views of style. The conception that a great plot, or a great character, or a great metaphor is made one by a conquering force and not simply that it is one as a fact is worth having for its own sake, and it does not fit into the scheme of the three terms. The idea of unity and variety as exhibited in formal beauty. the beauty of rhythm, the beauty of varied recurrences of any type is out of the range of the ordinary definitions. Yet the theory of prose cannot leave out this aspect of unity in small structures or in large; -in a well balanced play, or a finely turned argument, or a well built period, or a graceful phrase. It is, moreover, a barren theory which excludes them from its fundamental principles, and only considers them as superficial ornament. Such a theory must either reject beauty as illegitimate, or overvalue mere external adornment.

In all this there is nothing mystical. Rather the contrary. What has been said urges that rhetorical terminology should conform to the usage of ordinary language. In common usage, unity includes severalty, singleness of aim, system, continuity of substance, consistency of temper, definiteness of outline, harmony of impression.

Technical terms derive their justification from their precision and adequacy; and a technical term which falls below common consciousness in precision and adequacy can only increase difficulties, not solve them. The current application of the accepted principles of structure is too crude, too remote from reality, too superficially simple. A theory is needed which, without losing breadth and simplicity in its main ideas, shall be more inclusive in its scope, and more delicately adaptable to the complex phenomena of style in detail. In this paper the attempt has been made to indicate some of the main lines which such a theory must follow. The author hopes that later he may carry on the application of these conceptions to a consistent practical system.

BEOWULF AND THE NIEBELUNGEN COUPLET 1

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

I

Tinker's dissertation, The Translations of Beowulf (Yale Studies in English, XVI, 1903) records six English translations in prose, inclusive of Thorpe's line for line parallel printing, and five in verse. Of the verse translations two are in rhyme. Wackerbarth's (1849), though readable in itself, is in the pseudo-ballad verse of Scott's Marmion, essentially a metrical sophistication in the eighteenth century tradition, and in its musical superficiality as unsuited to the rugged manner of Beowulf in one direction as its surprising adoption by Conington, however skilful, proved it unsuited to the charm, pathos, and intellectual depth of the Aeneid in another direction. Lumsden's in seven-accent couplets, iambic in movement, with caesura frequently varying to either end of the movement, is the measure of Chapman's Iliad, and forceful though it be in retelling the Germanic folk-epic, it has all the metrical associations of the Elizabethan Renaissance —as well as all the unBeowulfian qualities of "ballad verse." Three are in "imitative verse," which, if my ear as a versewriter does not deceive me, are not verse, and which, if my judgment as a scholar has not gone all astray, are not imitative either (see Section VI)—a criticism that must apply, if correct in principle, to the otherwise fine work and workmanship of the subsequent version of Gummere. To complete the

¹The following metrical study forms the Appendix to a new version of *Beowulf*, to be published shortly.

^{31881, 2}nd Ed. 1888.

So Tinker; and Gummere, The Translation of Beowulf, AJP, VII, 1886.

^{&#}x27;Garnett's, J. L. Hall's, and Morris'.

^{*} The Oldest English Epic, 1909.

list we must add three prose translations since 1903: C. G. Child's (1904), Wentworth Huyshe's (1908), E. J. B. Kertlan's (1913). There exist, then, eight prose and six "verse" translations, a notable tribute to the scholarly and poetic challenge of the old tale, notably paralleled by the many versions (as listed by Tinker) in German.

It is not my purpose to examine here any of these fourteen versions. We note that the earlier prosemen were using translation to explain exact philological conclusions: that is, translation was designedly commentary, albeit occasionally, as in the version of Kemble, the first English scholar and translator, the very literalness has an indisputable literary effect, not unlike that of the semi-Hebraisms in the Authorized Version of the Bible. Later prosemen, though nearly all technical Beowulf scholars, have striven for literary form and imaginative spirit in the interests of a non-technical reading public. But that a prose-translation may still be valuable as commentary is proven by the frequent and respectful citations from Clark Hall's version (1901) in the highly technical notes to the latest and best Anglo-Saxon edition of Beowulf.6 Presumably, the only verse translation that has scholarly value as commentary is Gummere's-I am speaking of course of the translation itself, not of Gummere's keen and luminous notes.

However, with all the distinguished effort indicated above, the student and lover of the original still always experiences, I think, a peculiar discontent,—a discontent differing in principle not only from irritation at blunders in meaning, but from the chafed resignation which admits that translation as such must be mere translation, at best a makeshift, unable to communicate to others the things most precious to student and lover of the original. I mean it is discontent not with a necessary makeshift, but with a poor, an unnecessary makeshift: one feels that the right makeshift has not been found, but can be. One feels, for example, that the stiffness of phrase, the unclearness in narrative movement, the falsification of atmosphere, the jerkiness, the blurring of



By Chambers, 1914.

outlines in imaginative details, the stridency or high-pitch or superficiality of the tune as tune,—one or more of which deviations in one degree or another balk the reader of any Beowulf translation,—are not inherent to the exchange of New English for Old. Moreover, one feels that "an exact equivalent" would be no equivalent—for times change. The nearest to an exact equivalent would be that translation which made the modern reader sit up, all ear; made him take in the tale, somewhat as the old listener sat up and took it in. This is the only literary meaning of equivalence.

Some such discontent it was that seems to have impelled my own metrical experiment, when I seated myself to read once more

hu tha aethelingas ellen fremedon,-

as it happened, just after reading that other Germanic tale von heleden lobebaeren, von grosser arebeit,

and found the Anglo-Saxon becoming the couplets of the Niebelungenlied.

That the translation should have shaped itself as verse and not as prose was inevitable, if the impulse was what moved the imagination rather than what interested the under-The translator's function, as imaginative selfidentification and dramatic re-creation—briefly indicated in the preface to my translation of Lucretius—implies prose for prose, verse for verse, and some not pedantic, but organic equivalence of specific form (as blank verse for hexameter in the case of Lucretius)—form, which is more and more spirit as we pass from speech as communicating knowledge to speech as communicating ideas, actions, moods, and power. As to Beowulf, the excitement, suspense, advance, differentiation of motifs, demarcation of the culminating moment of one movement or mood, the demarcation of the beginning of another, with all the divers modes for emphasizing character or situation, the grimness of understatement and of other types of irony or foreboding, the sonorous vigor and cumulative effect of phrasal groups, the imaginative differentiation or climax in the parallelisms and repetitions, the rendering of the kennings in speech-surroundings sufficiently exalted and remote to transcend an effect of strain or grotesqueness, the tunes and above all the *tune*—how, for example, are these to be achieved in prose? The story, yes—but this is not "the whole story."

II

However, though the extant prose renderings of Beowulf, the later as well as the earlier, remain, in nature if not in design, commentary rather than translation, still such is the disputed state of text and interpretation, still such is the implication of technical scholarship with imaginative pleasure, that only such medium will satisfy as verse which satisfies also as an exact record of specific opinion. Can the Niebelungen verse be adapted to the demands of philology? It seems to me it can.

Take the lines 154-6 (in Chambers), on Grendel's diabolic inveteracy:

sibbe ne wolde with manna hwone maegenes Deniga feorh-bealu feorran, fea thingian.

Chambers in his notes records as alternatives: 1) "he wished not for peace or to remove the life-bale"; 2) "he would not out of compassion to any man remove the life-bale"; (fea thingian he leaves untranslated). Gummere renders:

[He] refused consent to deal with any of Daneland's earls, make pact of peace or compound for gold.

Clark Hall renders:

[He] would not peaceably avert life's havoc from any man of Danish stock nor stay for tribute.

The problem centres in sibbe. Is it to be taken as an accusative object of wolde (so Gummere, apparently), and parallel to the infinitive clause feorh-bealu feorran (Cham-

bers 1), or as an instrumental (Clark Hall, Chambers 2); and, if instrumental, is with manna hwone to be construed with it (Chambers 2) or with the verb feorran (Clark Hall)? Is sibbe parallel to fea, in parallel infinitive clauses and does, then, with manna hwone, etc., belong in effect to both infinitives, feorran, thingian? Philologus would have it literatim: "Over against any man at all of the might of the Danes, he would not remove the life-bale by [terms of] peace, [would not] accept a settlement by money-payment." In the verse:

Would not, by a peace-pact set the Danesmen free;
Would not with the aethelings e'er compound for fee.

The point is not that the solution is correct, but that, whether correct or not, the verse-medium is sufficiently plastic to permit a record of that solution. So with all the many passages about which scholarship has contended; and if sometime my classroom notes on a number of passages should be published, they would be anticipated in their conclusions by the renderings of the translation.

Two further illustrations from neighboring passages. The famous crux (168-9):

no he thone gif-stol gretan moste, maththum for Metode ne his myne wisse.

Clark Hall renders:

He [Grendel] might not, however, mount to the throne—a precious possession in the Creator's sight—nor did he know His [God's] purpose.

Gummere renders:

And ne'er could the prince [Hrothgar] approach his throne, —'twas judgment of God—or have joy in his [H's] hall.

These among many others, some of which, moreover, make "throne" refer to "the great white throne of God." The

present version incorporates the conclusions of a long MS note thus:

Yet not his [Grendel] the power— God forbade him then—E'er to greet the gift-stool, e'er to come anear
Throne itself of Hrothgar, nor partake its cheer,

i. e., the cheer of the throne, like a good retainer who comes up and receives gifts from the king, the breaker-of-rings.

The lines that sing the buoyant voyage of the young Viking's relief-ship (217-223):

gewat tha ofer waeg-holm winde gefysed flota fami-heals fugle gelicost, oth thaet ymb an-tid othres dogores wunden-stefna gewaden haefde, thaet tha lithende land gesawon, brim-clifu blican, side sae-naessas.

The crux is in an-tid (219), for which see Chambers' note. I prefer the old interpretation of Grein, hora prima, i. e., the dawn, on a number of counts, not the least being the imaginative appropriateness it adds to brim-clifu blican, "the glow on the cliffs'—for imaginative appropriateness is a criterion that scientific philology, dealing with a work of the imagination, sometimes finds useful. The translation records the preference ("well-braced" translates the bundenne of the preceding line):

The well-braced floater flew,
The foamy-necked, the bird-like, before the winds that blew,

Over the waves of the waters—

Of the next day the curved prow

That these faring-men the land saw, deep,

Broad sea-promontories, high hills steep.

In general, the objection to verse as a sure stumbling block to scholarly accuracy, even when the translator has the knowledge and the will to be accurate, is largely a tradition from the older classical scholarship that amused itself, now and then, with a look at the front-parlor translations of its favorite texts made by the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease in the eighteenth century. "It is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope; but you mustn't call it Homer," said Bentley. I have elsewhere contended for the very opposite view: that, at least as between blank verse and prose as the medium for rendering the exact meanings (aside from poetic quality) of the Roman poet-philosopher, the advantage may be with blank verse. In particular, it depends upon the verse-medium in its adaptation to the original. Spenserian stanzas would be a pretty sure stumbling block in translating Beowulf with scholarly accuracy, quite apart from a worse falsification of poetic tone than remarked of the mediums used by Wackerbarth and Lumsden. But the Spenserian stanzas of Worsley became both an accurate and a beautiful version of the Odyssey. The Niebelungen couplet would botch the meaning (as well as all else) of Lucretius' hexameters or of Calderon's rhymed theatre. But it seems precisely the medium for Beowulf. And its availability for scholarly accuracy is, I think, amply supported, indeed explained, by its peculiar appropriateness as an art-form.

III

The claims are made for the *Niebelungen* couplet, not for the *Niebelungen* stanza. This delimitation is contracted for by the Anglo-Saxon original. Four line passages of a strophic character may be detached here and there from the continuum of poetic speech, as the coast-guard's reply to Beowulf, just disembarked on the strand (286–289):

Weard mathelode, ombeht unforht: "Aeghwaethres sceal gescad witan, worda ond worca, se the wel thenceth."

The watchman, doughty servitor, "Behooveth the keen shieldman, "Twixt words and works the tokens from his steed replied: he who thinketh well, cunningly to tell."

Or the coast-guard's leave-taking after guiding Beowulf and his band inland to Heorot (316-319):

"Mael is me to feran; Faeder al-walda mid ar-stafum eowic gehealde sitha gesunde! Ic to sae wille with wrath werod wearde healdan."

"Time for me to fare back; in his mercy may
The Almighty Father keep ye safe alway
On your voyage and venture.
I will to the coast,
There to hold my sea-watch 'gainst a hostile host."

These remind one at once of one or another of the many short (strophe) speeches in the *Niebelungen*, which is in such general contrast with *Beowulf* as to dialogue, particularly brief dialogue:

Des antwurte Sivrit,
"Gistu mir dine swester,
die schoenen Kriemhilde
so ger ich keines lones

der Sigemundes sun, so wil ich es tuon, ein kueneginne her: nach minen arebeiten mer." (333)

Thereon answered Siegfried, "Give to me thy sister, The high-born Kriemhilde, So crave I meed none other

the son of Sigmund he: and this I'll do for thee, a princess fair-beseen, for any toil of mine or teen."

But whatever the practice in Old Norse Fornyrthislag or in prehistoric Anglo-Saxon lay, and whatever old Germanic tradition may have been preserved (as I think it was preserved) in the Niebelungen strophe, the Beowulf, as we have it, is clearly of another tradition, presumably West Germanic and later. If Moeller's reconstruction "in der urspruenglichen strophischen Form", with its excisions and rearrangements, is anything more than a very clever exercise, then, once upon a time some craftsman with another technique (itself a growth and an inheritance) deliberately set to work to destroy the strophic form of primitive tradition, with that fine artistry which consistently introduces new moments of the narrative

⁷ Das altenglische Volksepos, 1883.

(while keeping preceding moments of the alliteration) with the second half-line. Thus the Niebelungen strophe would be a falsification of form in a translation of Beowulf. But though something might be said for it in this respect, with Hoffmann's modern German version to buttress the argument, it would involve besides a serious falsification of substance (by omission or padding), in our uninflected English at least, through the translator's effort to compress or round out each four (English) lines into something like a unit. It would go well enough perhaps with the second specimen of the Anglo-Saxon quoted above. But with the first specimen the four AS lines (a unit) became three, with nothing in the context to yield the translator matter for an organic fourth. Abandoning the strophe, we abandon, likewise, the lengthened last half of the last line which marked the strophe.

The Niebelungen couplet enlists the associations of Germanic folk-epic, even though specifically an epic of a later Kultur. This is an advantage, to begin with, great out of all proportion to any necessity of dwelling on it.

It is a rhymed couplet; and rhyme is not only old Germanic (AS and ON as well as OHG, MHG), but in any forthright narrative of elemental actions and moods, in any forthright report of elemental scenes and speeches, has an initial advantage over unrhymed verse for the English ear, trained as it is from childhood to associate verse-story with rhyme-story in all story that is folk-lore. This is, likewise, at once evident. And the bondage of "end-rhyme" is liberty and joy compared to the bondage of "initial rhyme," in rigid reproduction of the Anglo-Saxon formula. At once evident, too, is the advantage of the Niebelungen couplet as a runover couplet on occasion, permitting the verse movement to record, unimpeded, the movement of action, mood, etc. The reasons for abandoning the strophe are reasons for adopting

¹a Of course, in instances where the break is slight this may go back to a device of strophe composition, a 3-5 or a 5-3 division of 8 half-lines. Cf Kaluza, Engl. Metrik, 1909, Section 14.

[&]quot;b Professor Klaeber in a letter suggests the use of this type of line as an effective conclusion to the separate "Fyttes"; it might also be available for reproducing "expanded lines." But I have not had the opportunity to try it out as yet.

the couplet. On the other hand, the occasional interior rhyme (of course, dissyllabic with secondary stress), as in the first couplet (and second) of the ancient song,

Uns ist in alten maeren wunders vil geseit von heleden lobebaeren von grosser arebeit,

make a perfectly idiomatic variation on occasion in the English, as likewise in the first couplet,

What ho! We've heard the glory of Spear-Danes, clansmen Kings,

Their deeds of olden story, how fought the aethelings!

And here may be the place for a note that my end-rhymes are more usually monosyllabic than in the Niebelungen. But such rhymes as Hagene and tragene (a trisyllabic rhyme occupying the last two accents of the half line) and klagen and sagen (practically short-syllable dissyllabic rhyme without secondary stress), occur occasionally, yet without observation of the Niebelungen rule of the short syllable and the so-called "resolution." I should note, also, that I have found the introduction of triplets, alternate end-rhymes, or other irregular groupings, sometimes an effective variation.

Evident, again, is the advantage to the translator of that half-line structure in the old Germanic tradition of *Beowulf* itself, which invites us, in keeping with that tradition, to make a new start, now and then, with the second half-line. But its advantages in respect to the less obvious, but more important, matter of phrasal equivalence can perhaps best be presented by typical examples.

a) The English long-line corresponds to an Anglo-Saxon longline, half for half, as (264)

gebad wintra worn aer he on weg hwurfe.

He tarried many winters before he fared away.

- (It may correspond, likewise, in inverted order, second half for first..)
- b) The English long-line corresponds to the second half of one and the first half of the next, as (48)

leton holm beran,

geafon on gar-secg.

Let the billows bear him. gave him to the deep.

c) The English corresponds to the first half of one line and the second half of the *preceding*, as (222)

beorgas steape,

side sae-naessas,

Broad sea-promontories, high hills steep.

d) The English corresponds to the first halves of two succeeding AS lines, in uninverted or (as here, 148) in inverted order.

wine Scyldinga,

[weana gehwelcne,]

sidra sorga

[woes with never end,]

Sorrows unbounded, he the Scyldings' friend.

- (It may correspond, likewise, to the second halves of two succeeding AS lines, in uninverted or inverted order.)
- e) The English corresponds in its first half to a complete longline in the Anglo-Saxon, and in its second half to the first half of the next Anglo-Saxon line, as (221)

thaet tha lithende.

land gesawon,

brim-clifu blican.

That these faring men the land saw, the cliffs aglow o'er the deep.

f) The English corresponds in its first half to the second half of one and the first half of the next, and in its second half to the last half of the next, as (389)

Tha with duru healle

Wulfgar eode, word inne abead.

Then went to doorway Wulfgar; and spake he from within.

Other combinations of the three parts (the one and a half Anglo-Saxon line) into the two parts of one English line, with the Germanic middle pause, are practicable and in fact occur, though the shorter second half of the Niebelungen verse is scarcely adapted to render an Anglo-Saxon long-line in the (hypothetical) combinations, AS half-line (or long-line) for the first half, and AS long-line for the second.

Such two halves for three constitute the inevitable solution of the problem of quantitative difference in speech-material between the relatively synthetic Anglo-Saxon with syllabic inflection, and the analytic English idiom. To translate rigidly half-line for half-line into the *Niebelungen* verse (however normal that equivalence is at times—see a and cf. b and c) would involve a very un-Germanic diffuseness,—just as to translate half-line for half-line into English alliterative

"imitative verse" produces an impression of trivial hurry and bustle, of staccato thinness (among other impressions!), which is both un-English and un-Germanic—at least for heroic themes. The result of two halves for three is, of course, a gradual development of a numerical breach between the Anglo-Saxon and the translation. Line 100 of the AS is line 88 of my English; line 200 is line 167.

The equivalence of half-line structure does not always work out in such exact phrasal equivalence. Many English half-lines are built up by taking here a little, there a little—sometimes bits from two AS half lines, whilst the remainder of the AS half-line furnishes matter for an adjacent English half-line. But the half-line effect is preserved and the correspondences are fairly close.

The half-line manipulations which this good old couplet thus makes possible are of particular practical service in adapting to an English style the frequent parallelisms, contrasting or additive, of clause or kenning. These frequently need to be rearranged to avoid awkwardness, unclearness, or burlesque; but, integral to the very life of Anglo-Saxon poetry as they are, it would blur and impoverish to paraphrase or eliminate them. Take, as one illustration for many, Beowulf in his courtliest vein piling up appellatives (kennings) to win the royal ear of King Hrothgar, and incidentally putting in a good word, by repetition, for his own followers (426 ff.):

Ic the nu tha,
brego Beorht-Dena,
eodor Scyldinga,
thaet thu me ne forwyrne,
free-wine folca,
thaet ic mote ana
thes hearda heap.

Ic the nu tha,
biddan wille,
anre bene,
wigendra hleo,
nu ic thus feorran com,
thus feorran com,
thaet ic mote ana
thes hearda heap.

Heorot faelsian.

So now, O prince of Bright-Danes, great,

Of thee one boon I'm begging:
Deny not, noble Folk-friend, now I have come so far,
That I alone with mine here, who still would share my lot,
This throng of hardy thanesmen, may purge thee Heorot.

The half-line structure is only rarely an embarrassment. Certain recurring formulae (in the AS) should recur, and should recur in the same English verse-structure; but they do not always recur in equally adaptable context. Again, mathelode recurs 19 times (Cook's Concordance), each time in the first half-line. Here the difficulty is simply in filling out the half-line; for the speech introduced by mathelode should not begin except with the beginning of the second half. Take line 499, where Unferth begins his taunt of Beowulf, at the feast of welcome:

Unferth mathelode, Ecglafes bearn, the aet fotum saet, frean Scyldinga, Onband beadu-rune......

"Spake" is the traditional rendering. I have adopted an apparently illegitimate formula "made a speech then,"—yet, as it not only fills the half-line, but besides brings out narrative sequence (a very important stroke in making Beowulf intelligible in English), and emphasizes the idea of formal address, it is not mere prettifying or padding, I think:

Unferth made a speech then,
Let loose, that bairn of Ecglaf,

at Hrothgar's feet who sate,—
his secret grudge of hate.

This couplet illustrates, also, the rearrangement of half-lines and parallelisms, and witnesses to the fact of occasional variation of stock expressions, frean Scyldinga becoming "Hrothgar," just as Hrothgar has presumably become in some line, "the Scyldings' friend."

So much for the advantages of the half-line in the Niebelungen verse because it is verily a half-line. But a word, to end this section, on its advantages because it is not a half-line—sometimes. One occasionally meets in Beowulf with a long-line like 43,

Nalaes hi hine laessan lacum teodan.

where the division breaks both sense and syntax. I have no doubt the division was intended to be kept metrically, however, as, too, in the *Edda* (e. g., *Thrymskvitha*, stanza 15),

hafi hann it mikla men Brisinga.

It has one or another emotional effect—precisely like that conflict between logical stress and verse stress often intended by modern English poets and as often disregarded by modern English readers to the destruction of mood and music, as in

> Chorus hymeneal, Or triumphal chant, Matched with thine, would be all But an empty vaunt.

If it were not in the *Niebelungen* verse, I should not hesitate to use it in my adaptation of the *Niebelungen* verse, as being a device of the AS original,—

no need for thee to care

Farther then about my body's food and fare,

translating 450-1, in Beowulf's testamentary address to Hrothgar before going to watch for Grendel. But, fortunately for my translation, if it should ever go for review to a rigor-and-vigor man, one can find the device, by looking long enough, in the *Niebelungenlied* too, as (stanza 380)

Si fuorten riche spise, dar zuo guoten win, den besten den man kunde finden umben Rin.

They fetched the richest dishes, and thereto goodly wine, The best that one could ever find along the Rhine.

I use it simply as an occasional variation, without pedantic pains to use it just when and where the *Beowulf-scop* did.

Moreover, this conflict between verse structure and grammatical structure at the end of the first half-line tends to give the last syllable before the pause a certain emphasis of quantity and pitch and these give (as is normal in English speech) the effect of accentual emphasis. This is one way of reminding the English ear that this final syllable is always to be read with the secondary stress of the MHG. A more usual device is to intersperse such verse endings for the first half as carry secondary (or level) stress in ordinary (prose) speech. Compare in the passage below the effect of Lord's

doom (level stress) and war-hall, hide then, fen-lair (all secondary stress), in persuading the ear to hear at the end of the first half often, body, stalker with secondary stress—a persuasion reinforced by gore, if and about my (altered quantity and pitch). It is the passage from which I quoted just above.

The one whom death shall hale, Let him believe the Lord's doom. He will, if he prevail, Me thinketh, in that war-hall eat unfearingly The Geat-folk, as so often the Danishmen did he. No need for thee to hide then this head of mine or veil: He'll have me, sprent with gore, if 'tis I whom death shall hale: . he'll think to taste his prey, He'll bear my bloody body. He'll eat—this lonely stalker unmournfully away; He'll track with me his fen-lair: no need for thee to care Farther then about my body's food and fare.

For that matter, the *Niebelungen* poet sometimes did likewise, as (stanza 898)

Si sprach, "du bist min mac, so bin ich der din",

just as for such variation as

Yet can God that scather mad turn from his deed

he furnished ample precedent in such lines as (stanza 884)

Liudegast und Liudeger die habent mir widerseit,

and (902)

und sich dar inne badete der kuene recke guot,

where the secondary stress, following an unstressed syllable, occupies the place of the brief half-line pause and thus destroys the two-part make-up of the line. At least that is, in brief, my theory,—with due apologies to the contrary-minded.

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IV

From the lines already quoted it will be observed that no attempt has been made to reproduce the alliterative formula of the Anglo-Saxon, though it occasionally appears exactly:

The henchman and the herald of Hrothgar, lo, am I.

Oftener, however, as in

And well he kenned the coast-marks wise in sailor-craft,

it is accompanied by a secondary alliteration (here on the k sound). The general procedure is between the consistent triple (dual) alliteration of the Anglo-Saxon and the sporadic (relatively) lawless alliteration of the Niebelungenlied. That is, my line is characteristically (but by no means always) alliterative, and alliterative in freely varying combinations that tend, however, to group themselves into types.

- a) The four strongest stresses alliterate throughout the line, as
 On the breast of the bark the heroes bore their bright
 array.
- b) The four strongest stresses alliterate alternately (as in the AS first line of Beowulf) thus,

The foamy-necked, the bird-like before the winds that blew.

c) The four strongest stresses alliterate in criss-cross fashion (chiasmus), as

The stout one under helmet, till at the hearth he stood.

d) One word (in any one of three possible stresses) in the first half alliterates with one word (in any one of three possible stresses) in the second, as

[mightily did shake]
and in parley spake....

With his hands his spear-shaft or,

Anchored well their sea-wood, whilst their armor clanked:

or (with secondary alliteration, here on th),

Thither in thanks my royal gifts, that he in grip-of-hand... There are, of course, other possible long-line combinations, such as (e) two (or three) in the first alliterating with one in the second, e. g.,

Against the greed of Grendel. This goodly youth unto.... or (f) one in the first alliterating with two (or three) in the second, e. g.,

Under roof of Heorot. The hero strode ahead......
All serve the function of the Anglo-Saxon alliteration, that of binding the two half-lines together.

g) But each half-line may alliterate within itself (upon varying feet), as

Bounded over the billows. Flood was asurge with foam....

h) The first half may have alliteration (upon varying feet), the second not, as

Had a town and treasures. All his vaunt 'gainst thee.....

i) The second half may have it, the first not, as

Did the son of Beanstan fulfil faithfully.

Just as the long-line types serve, as in the AS, to remind us that the two halves are metrically a unit, these half-line types serve to remind us that this unit is actually made up of two halves—a fact of which one needs more often a reminder in the English than in the AS, owing (primarily) to end rhyme.

j) There is sporadic run-over alliteration, as sporadically in the original. Compare either of the two strophic passages (Weard mathelode, etc., or Mael is me to feran, etc.) above with such a passage as this (from Beowulf's first address to Hrothgar). (I mark only those alliterations concerned in the run-over.)

Hail and health, O Hrothgar! Of Hygelac's kin and kith

Am I, who've gained in young days glories not a few.

Afar this thing of Grendel on my home-turf I knew.

Sea-farers say it standeth. this excelling hall,

Idle and empty unto each and all,

When under heavens' hollows the evening light is hid.....
Or mark off such a couplet as this, where (as notably in the above
AS "strophes") a non-alliterating word in one line furnishes the
letter for the alliterating words of the next:

Bade make ready for him a rider-of-the-sea;
Quoth, he'd seek this war-king o'er the swan-road, he!

I was certainly surprised at the discovery of these devices—having been conscious in the writing only now and then that I was using alliteration at all. Nor should I be distressed if the reader failed to discover them. But I should want him to feel the effect, somewhat—may I say it?—as those Germanic clansmen when

scop hwilum sang

hador on Heorote.

V

A few words on the more strictly metrical availability of the Niebelungen verse.

I take it, the Niebelungen gets its characteristic movement from the two movements of lines like these:

- a) Do sprach diu kueneginne, "nu brinc mir min gewant."
 (416)
- b) "Nein, durch mine liebe", sprach diu kuenegin. (520)

They are represented in the English by such lines as:

- a) Of all mankind the strongest in might and main was he.
- b) Made, through nights eternal, misty moors his home.

Of course even between the corresponding MHG and English lines of these pairs there are subtle but easily distinguishable differences of movement, depending upon delicate differences in distribution of the more important stresses, in lightness or heaviness of the arsis, in correspondence or non-correspondence of word or word-group with metrical foot. Such differences, like differences in vowel-values (particularly pitch), like differences in the intrinsic relations between musical sound (vowel) and noise (consonant), or in the various modulations superimposed by logic or emotion, are the differences which render every line that is really alive different from every other. But with these differences I am not concerned in this discussion.

These two types, with or without the simple modifications resulting from combinations of the two halves of each, so dominate my translation as to give to the whole a somewhat different metrical character than that of its mediaeval model in versification. (From the brief specimen in Tinker, I judge the same difference holds for Hoffmann's German version.) There is, in other words, much less of the old Germanic freedom in relation between position of stress and adjacent stresses, particularly (not solely) in relation between stress and the use or the omission of unstressed speech be-

and many do occur in my translation. The difference is not in their occurrence but in the infrequency of their occurrence. Some of them appear in the passages quoted above, as "high hills steep," "sorrows unbounded" (two stresses on sorrows, primary and secondary), "idle and empty" (two stresses on idle, primary and secondary). Others may be remarked in such random passages as follow. Of the open season for joy in new-built Heorot:

To tell mankind's beginning,
The earth, that shining lea-land
Quoth, how God set, triumphant,
As lights to lighten lands' folk;
With leaf and limb the fold all;
For every kind that moveth

He spake who knew full fair
how God Almighty wrought
d which waters fold about;
it, the sun and the moon
how he adorned soon
and eke created birth
on ocean, air, or earth. (90ff.)

Of the burial-ship for Scyld:

There in haven stood she, prow bedight with rings, Icy and out-bound, barge of the Aetheling's. (32)

Of Beowulf's presenting his credentials of prowess to Hrothgar:

So my best of henchmen, Teach me, Sovran Hrothgar, For that so well they wotted

my canny carls, they did that I should seek thee out, this strength of mine how stout.

Themselves, had they seen me from sore straits come alive, Blood-flecked from foemen, where I'd bounden five, Killed the kin of ettins, out upon the main By night had smote the nicors, suffered stress and pain, Avenged their hate of Geatmen...... (415 ff.)

The cadence blood-flecked from foemen reappears in the second half of lines like these:

Mickle long the while was; twelve winters' tide. (146)

Is my folk-on-floor,

My warrior-throng of hall-men, almost no more. (476)

But the cadence high hills steep is metrically more idiomatic in the second half, when the line is already well under way. So too, for the same reason, of some of the modifications of normal prose stress. A secondary accent upon a normally unstressed syllable in order to mark time (as in sorrows unbounded) goes as well (i. e., is as metrically idiomatic) in the first as in the second half; but a deliberate interchange of primary and secondary (as in almost no more) or of primary and non-stress (as in fulfill faithfully or in over the sea-surging, rhyming with king) goes better as a rule in the second. The law here is the law of the possible ratio of recurrence of all such departures from the English norm: there must be a decided rhythmical set; a rhythmical echo must merge with the variation to keep it from getting out of the rhythm altogether. That is my reason for quoting above such cadences with so much rhythmical context. It is a manifestation of the first law of all English versification: a line of verse has no independent existence.

But why should the danger of such cadences getting out of the rhythm (and so ceasing to be such) prove greater in English than in the Niebelungen? Aside from the greater danger depending on an intrinsic difference between the speech-material of English and MHG, it depends upon the well-known (and closely associated) historical fact: that our metrical (and rhythmical) tradition, so largely Germanic as I believe it is (from nursery rhyme to Shelley's lyric), has still been vitally modified by three other traditions,—essentially one,—the common non-Germanic traditions of Old French, Mediaeval Latin, and Renaissance. Much more vitally than the Niebelungen verse, which in its turn, of course, owes something of its difference from earlier Germanic verse ultimately to mediaeval Latin (cf. Section VI)something, not all because the changes in speech-material and the rhyme (itself in part a Germanic phenomenon) contributed to develop that difference. And every English versewriter, no less than verse-reader, is under the compulsion of



^{*}Primarily to be identified by the dominance of the principle of alternation or (and) the principle of quantity.

the non-Germanic tradition. On the other hand, English verse entirely in the non-Germanic tradition is precisely that English verse which, as all through the eighteenth century, most loses in haunting charm and musical depth-not because non-Germanic versification is inferior as such (though I think it is), but because English, as a Germanic speech, cannot for its most idiomatic rhythmical effects do without its Germanic inheritance. (Some so-called Niebelungen verse in English is practically the French Alexandrine!) My translation, as a translation of a Germanic story, in a Germanic measure, is particularly under the spell of our Germanic tradition, but, as a translation into modern English, it must submit also to the persuasion of the other. It is metrically successful or unsuccessful chiefly as to the tact with which the two traditions combine and interpenetrate.

There are, again, some cadences in the *Niebelungen* that are more developed and frequent in my English, such as in the second half of the line (stanza 406), even if we carefully read *geben* as two short syllables ("resolution" is a myth!):

Do sprach ein kameraere, "ir sult uns geben diu swert."

Examples in above cited passages are:

Over the waves of the waters.....
On the breast of the bark the heroes.....
The cliffs aglow o'er the deep,
..... flood was asurge with foam,

(tending to the non-Germanic regularity).

A group of cadences like these, as they succeed one another in the following passage, is a wide departure—but my widest—from the typical *Niebelungen* movement. It translates, however, a passage particularly characterized by rhetorical ingenuity and by a spiritual philosophy foreign alike to *Beowulf* and the *Niebelungen* (lines 178–188).

Such was their devil-practice and hope of these heathen men;

"Twas Hell in their hearts they remembered and God was not in their ken: The Doomsman of Deeds they wist not,
of Love,

Nor worshipped the Wielder-of-Wonders,
Heavens above.

Woe to the soul that perversely
Never to ween of comfort,
Weal to the soul that after
May seek out the Lord and crave there
Father a home.

wist not the Lord
the Helm of the fiery pit,
never to change a whit;

the day of his death is come
in arms of the

But its tendency toward dipodic scansion awakens Germanic memories—ancestral reverberations long antedating the *Niebelungen* or *Beowulf*, and best heard today from the lips of unsophisticated children.

The passage suggests mention of another difference between my handling of the movement and the MHG. My variations tend to go in just such groups, and thus to demarcate fairly extended passages of different texture, where the imagination has transferred differences in idea, action, mood, setting to differences of rhythm,-more (or less) under the influence of the Beowulf rhythm in the same passage. The abruptness and haste of the coast-guard's leave-taking, quoted above, is given in a four-line group of "trochaics," any halfline of which is to be found in the Niebelungen, but never (I believe) in such a group of half-lines. The very next passage (the opening of V) introduces a new moment of the story; and the buoyant march of Beowulf and his warlike band to Heorot renders itself thus in a group of "iambies" of ten lines, till the movement again shifts with the speech of the Dane, the wlonc haeleth of B 331, inquiring who they be. The opening passage begins in English:

The street was laid with bright stones; the road led on the band,

The battle-byrnies shimmered, the hard, the linked-by-hand;

The iron rings, the gleaming, amid their armor sang,

Whilst thither in dread war-gear to hall they marched alang.

No such ten line passage occurs in the *Niebelungen*, quite apart from the break made by the second half of every fourth line.

On the other hand, the Niebelungen variations are far briefer—far more numerous, far more elusive and delicate, and echo and answer one another, flow into or away from one another, in little waves of sound that it would require the technical vocabulary of the musician to describe. And though the Anglo-Saxon original of Beowulf has, likewise, a complex metrical pattern, the effects are broader and more elemental, the structure and content of the whole more massive, just as the psychology and the action itself is more simple and naive. Possibly the broader and more elemental and massive strokes—as described of my version—do better for Beowulf in English than would the subtler music of the Niebelungen—even were it possible of attainment.

About a hundred years ago, a young enthusiast in Northern Antiquities, falling upon Thorkelin's editio princeps (1815) with its (to us) so ridiculously incorrect Latin version, learned the whole poem by heart and was the first to discover what it was all about. His emendations have been incorporated in the text or cited in the notes of all subsequent editors. But his heart was set upon another matter. With a corrected copy of Thorkelin's original transcripts before him-made by his friend Rask-he went to work upon a translation in his mother tongue. It was published in 1820, and the old man's second edition, forty-five years after. bears witness to the depth and persistence of his early enthusiasm. I have little knowledge of the personal life of the Dane, Nicolas Frederic Grundtvig, "praest"; but he seems more to me than merely a familiar name in a technical discipline. His personality speaks in his emendations and in his introduction, but chiefly—in his translation. The very freedom with which he lets his imaginative excitement over the old text, and lets his rich memories of old Germanic lore. lead him-mislead him, if you please-into rugged and picturesque elaborations of situations and speeches is intolerable to us wiser ones-who, to be sure, have not learned the

poem by heart—but eloquent of his own Germanic loves. If he has "cheapened the story" (so Tinker), he has made it go, as no translator since. And this translation is in verse—rhymed verse, of varying metres and stanzas. And the passage open before me (in the very rare 1820 edition) is in the verse he used most, and it runs:

Kong Hrodgar; sagde Helten, hilsael i dit Gemak!

I Salen og i Feldten jeg tjener Higelak,

Hans Fraende mon jeg være, og tjener i hans Gæard,

Heel mangen Daad med Aere jeg drev i Ungdoms-Aar.

I Gotheland jeg hoerde, at Grændel dig bestreed,

Og Skippere mig foerde om Sægen den Beskeed.

(B. 407 ff.)

Despite some obvious differences, these lines—from the first translation of *Beowulf* in any tongue—are in effect the couplets of the *Niebelungenlied*. I discovered this fact only after I had begun my own. If my translation errs, it errs in company venerable and distinguished.

VI

Herewith my account might properly conclude. Questions of style, except as related to the verse-medium, however vital in the translation, do not belong within the limits of this account of the translation. There must be adaptation of old ways of saying things to new; what, for instance, in Beowulf are repetitions of the same object or idea would often seem in English to be enumerations of different objects or ideas, unless the repetition were emphasized by some difference in grouping, or by a "this," "the same," etc., or, in the case of infinitives, by repeating the main verb. There must be adaptation of the new ways to old, by the occasional use of archaic words and forms, still not too archaic (as in Morris) nor too specifically associated with feudalism and Arthurian romance (as in Earle). There must be good use of our Ger-

[•] Examples of these devices appear among my previous citations.

manic word-stock. Out of 480 words which render approximately the same passage in Gummere's, Clark Hall's, and the present version, I find that the non-Germanic words (all L or OF excepting the Celtic clan) are respectively 61, 85, and 46. But numerical proportion as such is not enough. Compare the following ad hoc sentences. "I trust you will be so good as to send to Hygelac my heart-felt acknowledgements of all his manifold kindnesses" is both Germanic and Anglo-Saxon Germanic, but the total effect of the words is un-Germanic. Again, "[The] stout chiefs, refusing peacepact, tracked [to] haunted lake [the] cruel monster, [and] closed round [the] beast [in] fierce quarrel." This, though Latin, is in total effect of the words, Germanic. The difference between the two effects is in the different connotations which the words both bring to each passage and acquire in each passage. Philology, as such, won't settle the matter. Words take on certain features, just as, according to some anthropologists, descendants of early settlers in America come to take on a suggestion of the Red Indian—the so-called American physiognomy.

What I want still to emphasize, however, is one more point of metrics. If not well taken, fortunately it cannot subtract anything from the contentions for the *Niebelungen* verse thus far made; but, if well taken, it will add not a little. I have thus far contended exclusively that the *Niebelungen* verse is the verse for the *Beowulf* because it is so well adapted to the *Beowulf*. My final contention goes farther: it is adapted to the *Beowulf* because it is essentially the verse "of" the *Beowulf*.

The scholarly acrimony of fifty years concentrates in this apparently innocent preposition. What does this "of" mean! For me it means, frankly, the belief in what Kaluza, with cheerful defiance, calls "die gute, alte, viel geschmachte und oft todtgesagte, aber deshalb nur um so zacher am leben festhaltende Lachmannsche vierhebungstheorie." I believe



[&]quot;"The good-old-much-despised-and-often-pronounced-dead-but-on-this-account-only-so-much-the-more-tenaciously-clinging-to-life — Lachmannian four-accent theory." Der altenglische Vers, 1894, Vorwort.

the Anglo-Saxon alliterative verses (and with them the ON Fornyrthislag) were composed and recited with four accents and must be so read today if they are to render up their musical meaning-and all those poetic values dependent thereon. We have become so habituated to Sievers' fivetypes—viewing (and reviewing) them in the back of every Primer and Reader, putting them on the blackboard, correcting them in the blue-books—that we now take them for granted as the ABC (DE) of Germanic metrical science. Indeed, to a confirmed disciple of Professor Sievers, the difference between a defense of palmistry (or cannibalism) and a defense of the four-accent theory is scientifically only a difference of degree—with the advantages of intellectual and social respectability indubitably on the side of the former. But great as is Sievers' name, there are great names on the other side: Lachmann (in spite of some now antiquated views), Muellenhoff, Heyne, Schade, Trautmann, Kaluza, and (with varying differences) in effect Moeller, Hirt, Fuhr, ten Brink. And even Sievers admits, with Saran, a four-accent stage lost with the change from sung to spoken verse.

There is need, shortly, for a new and completer statement of its claims. No other theory so well explains the interrelations, Indo-European and Germanic, known to obtain in other linguistic elements, and even by the "two-accent men" admitted to obtain somehow in metrics. None so well explains the Germanic relations of development (in MHG and ME) known to obtain in other linguistic elements and even by two-accent men (as Luick and Schipper) admitted to obtain in metrics. None other works so well in Anglo-Saxon, the Germanic language that has preserved the most extensive body of early Germanic verse, nor in the ON



[&]quot;Though this paper discusses—and that most briefly—only a few of these relationships, it may call attention in a note particularly to "tumbling verse" and "Knittelvers" as likely to be adduced against the four-accent position. (cf. also Gummere's partial derivation of our "five foot iambus" from the AS long-line as presupposing a two-accent theory. The Translation of Beowulf, AJP, VII, 1886). "Tumbling verse" and "Knittelvers" with their (assumptive) four erratic stresses, though differing from old Germanic half-lines of four erratic stresses by sporadically greater amounts of speech-filling (as opposed to possible

Fornyrthislag, which, with the strophe and the related fact of verse units (as opposed to enjambement), represents, though in smaller amount, doubtless a still earlier phase.

The theory does away with the anomalies of three-accent types (D, E, and some of A), and a four-accent type (the familiar sub-form of A), and a long-line of seven accents, like

gúth-rinc góld-wlànc, gráesmòldan tráed

(B. 1881)

beside a long-line of four, like

on beór-séle bénc gerýmed. (B. 492)

In the transitional versification of early ME, or in quite modern versification, at least since Romanticism broke with the classical prescriptions, such irregularities would not surprise the reader or embarrass the critic; but in that rigid, self-directive, self-perpetuative formalism of folk-art rightly posited for Germanic metrics by both two-accent and four-accent men, such anomalies at once render suspiciously inconsistent any theory that cannot eliminate them absolutely.

The four-accent theory does away with that hurried sloughing and piling up of syllables which make, if not impossible, at least very difficult and strained, the preservation of old Germanic articulation.¹² To be sure, the outstanding phonetic peculiarity of the Germanic languages is their strong stress basis, and strong stress on one syllable tends to weaken stress (and with stress, articulation) in other syllables; and the two-accent men thus try to prove their position by precisely the same reminder of "Germanic phonetics" as is here adduced for the opposite position. But the reference above is to

pause-filling) between stresses, may still be related to the old half-lines; and the clue to the relationship may well be in the broken-down old Germanic verse of the *Heliand*, which on either a two or a four accent theory differs from the older in this respect. Unless, indeed, they be a much later phenomenon: some relate the "Knittelvers" to the Court Epic. For other views (particular alternating syllables with distorted word-accent) and a thorough discussion of NHG verse before Opitz, see Saran, *Deutsche Versiehre*, 1907, p. 300 ff., and 320 ff.

¹² The term is used briefly for a complex of inseparable factors.

articulation in specific cases which involve word-elements that, upon all available evidence, could not have been pronounced, before the period of leveling, without the clearest articulation—except to the impairment of their functional character in the speech and thought complex. The contention is not that they all bore stress—secondary stress—in prose; but that in normal discourse they were not subject to that degree of subordination and obscuration which is so often demanded by any consistent two-accent reading of an old Germanic alliterative line. The contention is that the definitely muscular articulation of such syllables would invite the poet to give them secondary stress rather than to infringe upon their functional character—would invite, in short, to the four and not the two-accent scansion. The differentiation between single and double consonants (man-na, hel-le, mid-dan), kept in ON even in final, or final derivative syllables (men, necklace, menn, men; hamar, hamarr—here of course, strictly, short and long consonants), the differentiation among vowel endings (a, o, u, e) and vowel-consonant endings (an, on, um, en), the secondary stress in certain derivative syllables like -ende, -ode, -ian (appearing as rhyme stresses in OHG, MHG and ME) are differentiations that point to a scansion not only where these differentiations were not obscured but where they may well have been organically dynamic, even determinative, for the scansion itself, in a more thorough-going fashion than is possible in the Sievers scheme where their metrical value is partial and sporadic. The considerations of this paragraph are purely linguistic. They lead directly to others.

The four-accent theory is more in accord with what we know, or have reason to conjecture, was the nature of poetry in those old days. That nature was the farthest remove from "naturalness"—from modern conceptions of simplicity and immediacy to the daily life of men and men's speech. The primary intent, as so exhaustively elaborated by Richard M. Meyer (Die altgermanische Poesie, nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben) was, in ideals, in vocabulary, in structure, to create a difference, but a difference by em-

phasis, not by contrast. The point of departure remained the folk-ideal and the folk-speech. The difference was only that in the poem the king must be ten times as brave or generous, and the speech ten times as exalted or picturesque. Thus it would be strange if, in their scansion, they inverted the process, and deliberately under-emphasized, in a strict phonetic sense, the normal prose pronunciation of phrase, word, or syllable. Rather did they over-emphasize, over-articulate, with a grandiose idealization in metrics and delivery, corresponding to the entire concept of poetry as idealization. And the twanging harp guided and completed the differentiation, the idealization. 12a

But this argument works both ways, the Herrn Opponenten might reply, reminding us that the twofold accentuation is precisely that over-emphasis, the indigenous Germanic nature of which is witnessed even in excited and emphatic prose today. If it does work both ways, then admittedly, its cogency is as much neutralized for them as for us. But the fouraccent man is not content with such a truce. Excited prose drives home points—comes out strong on the logical stresses. In this it is not the norm for verse. Moreover, even excited prose of old Germanic speech could not slough the characterizing functional syllables to the degree referred to above as often necessary in a two-accent theory. Much less then could the verse—for the emphasis would be in a direction away from, not toward determinable rhythms and metrical balance in the speech as speech,—away from, as is the case in the liturgical chanting of prose versions of the Psalms, sometimes, with the Predigt-stil, so strangely adduced indeed as veritable illustrations of the two-accent technique in reading Germanic The essential point, however, is this: that the overemphasis I so strongly suspect is over-emphasis of all relatively important syllables, a heightening of the entire speechmaterial, not a distortion of a part at the expense of the I mean over-emphasis in all verse-pronunciation in dis-



¹²a. Vigorously assisting the main stresses, but lending particular support and stylistic quality to the secondary stresses. Of course, in itself the use of the harp proves neither two nor four stresses.

tinction to ordinary emphasis in all prose-pronunciation, not over-emphasis of some members within the verse in distinction to other members within the verse.

Nor in the much-heralded change from sung to spoken verse is there any necessary distinction of principle. tion was measured declamation—with the harp, or, so to speak, with the memory of the harp and of the poetic tradition. I mean, for aught that can be cited to the contrary. The assumption that AS verse was sprach-metrisch is necessary only—to explain the two accent theory; even as the twoaccent theory is then used for all it is worth to prove-that the AS verse was sprach-metrisch. Moreover, the "change" took place by no phonetic or metrical law not in equal operation today. Wherever musical notation is characteristically syllabic, i. e., a note to a syllable (as particularly in primitive music or children's rounds),—in distinction from several syllables to a note (as in the enterprise of Psalmchanting), or several notes to a syllable (as in modern airs) there is normally no structural change in the metrical character of the words when spoken. The verse, coordinated with song as sung, remains so coordinated, reveals the nature of the coordination in itself, apart from song. Strassburg, O Strassburg, du wunderschoene Stadt'' has in the lyric as read aloud, the same secondary stresses on -burg and -schoene that it has when sung. (So, too, Kaluza.) "Yes, but this is because you recall the music." Not at all, it is because the music is in the words as well as in the notation; as one may prove by reading aloud, say, some old English or German nursery rhyme the music-tune of which you have never heard and then comparing it, as to time, pitch, etc., with the music. Personally, I read O Strassburg according to the "music" long before I knew the "music." Such verse notates in its organic metrical character a specific "tune"—and no verse is truly "lyrical" if it does not. And if the experiment does not work with you, I'll tell you you haven't read the verses right. There is no way of escape:

Schneckhaus, Schneckhaus, Strecke deine Hoerner aus, Und wenn du sie nicht strecken willst, Werf ich dich in Graben, Fressen dich die Raben.

The words don't tell me all about the folk-tune that may have gone with them—(they can't tell me just how much higher, for instance, the syllable *Hoer*- was than *Streck*-, though they almost tell me that, too)—but they tell me indubitably that it was in 4-4 time, and I unconsciously read the lines dipodically. They undergo no organic change as spoken. The secondary stresses remain on -haus, dein-, -aus, etc., and on the -en, of Graben and Raben, and the whole is read (as sung) line by line with four accents—is in fact a group of old Germanic half-lines in the aboriginal tradition, that know nothing about a change to two-accent scansion, when I now speak what little Fritz used to sing.¹³

The uncouth and shamefaced Caedmon left his fellow-revellers when it came his turn to sing to the harp (be hearpan singan), but soon found himself able, in the cattle-stall, to sing in his visionary sleep (tha ongon he sona singan)—even without the harp. But there was a dream-harp, you say. That is just it: the harp of the imagination—which the scribe who recorded the beginning of his song (leoth) for us doubtless heard, too, even if he, peradventure, spoke the verses aloud in the scriptorium. The notes of Caedmon's dream-harp have not been lost to this day. They are written into the metrical manner. His verses are today what they were in the old days. And what are these verses? They are nothing less than excellent specimens of typical

¹³ A metrician and pupil of Sievers, Dr. Ernst Feise, writes on my MS, "This happens to be right, but need not," and cites a little modern poem in which dipodies consisting successively of secondary and primary stresses in the metre as spoken become dipodies consisting successively of primary and secondary stresses when sung to the music. This is an interesting modern exception, wherein the music seems to be compelling the verse to an old popular movement (which indeed it can be made to take on without the music). But it does not invalidate my main contention: the change is not from dipodic to monopodic or in the sumber of stresses.

AS alliterative verse,—the same in heathen charm, religious hymn, personal lyric, folk-ballad, Christian tale, or Germanic epos. The intrinsic difference between singing and speaking is a phonetic, not a metrical difference.

As to Beowulf, the effect upon our polite ears would have been, I doubt not, a subordination of dramatic to musical emphasis, perhaps a suggestion of childish sing-song. But we would hear a tune to it; we would know it was versesonorous, often melodious verse, with its well-defined modulations of pitch, tempo, loudness, and pause, however, always under the control of the metre. If, on the other hand, the scop had been a "two-accent man", the effect upon our ears would have been oratory, not verse—at best, impressive rhythmical prose, but more often a succession of phonetically disjointed "breath-groups" like those of a solemn and excited Medicine Man at a tribal pow-wow. But there is place here for little scientific argument. Kaluza's analysis (Der altenglische Vers, 1894) I accept as far as it goes, in the essential principles14 (though Kaluza might not accept all the remarks of this paper).

However, I believe our repugnance to the four-accent theory is too often not a scientific repugnance at all. I believe it is often, as it was in part with myself, the unconscious effect of defective imagination; the substitution of today for yesterday, the twentieth century for the eighth,—a substitution, too, of our own sophisticated maturity, accustomed to a verse coordinated with spoken prose for our Mother Goose childhood instinctively taking to a verse coordinated with song—until this form of original sin was drubbed out of us in the schoolroom.

The repugnance seems to be this—when it is not something more delimiting still, to wit, entire incapacity to read the lines with four accents at all. For a fact, one has to learn. "The natural way", in spite of much intermittent gulping of "unstressed syllables", is perhaps as often with

¹⁴ Recall particularly section 12, where he skilfully directs against his opponents the entire force of their old argument drawn from verses made up of ½ Germanic plus ½ Latin or of ½ Latin plus ½ Germanic.

two, or rather three, accents as with four. The "natural way" is of course an English or a German student's talking his English or German—in Anglo-Saxon; a doubly unnatural way from the point of view of the old Scop. But we have to learn the metres of Horace or Greek chorus. We have to learn the more uncommon movements, even in modern verse in our own tongue—set the average reader of poetry to a sight reading of Meredith's Love in the Valley, for instance. That is, we grown-ups have to. For very few of men's activities are rhythmical any longer—except the dance, and the rhythm seems fast disappearing from that.

But the repugnance may sometimes be due to a curious misunderstanding of the theory itself: it was partially so in my own case, for I had been a pupil in Trautmann's Beowulf seminary, at the very time he was so bravely "revising" the text. The scansion is not an old Indo-European monopodic long-line of eight theoretically equal stresses, assuming—which is very doubtful—that the IE line was monopodic. To call the half-line a four-accent line is misleading, for Trautmann alone considers the four stresses to have been equal. Stress is roughly in three grades, 3, 2, 1,non-stress (true arsis) being representable as O. (I borrow the numerals from Kaluza.) In the old Germanic metre of the Beowulf form, of the four stresses, three, two, or only one might be dominant, and of the secondary stresses one might be more dominant than the one other (or, respectively, the two others). Nor should the reduction of these variations to exact formulae on paper, as in Kaluza (op. cit.) permit our eye to delude our ear that the difference was so great as to destroy the unity of metrical effect, as it is for a fact destroyed by the two-accent theory with its irreducible anomalies (not to speak of the destruction of any metrical effect). The long-line was one characteristic line, just as much as in the "iambic pentameter" of blank verse or rhymed, though this has freer variations in the number (and freer variations in the relative position) of primary and secondary (that is, heavier and lighter) stresses, as the following familiar verses will recall to us:

Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring	(5 primary)		
A págan súckled in a creéd outwórn	(4	64)
Móther of this unfáthomable world	(3	44)
And that his grave should be a mystery	(2	44)

No difficulty is made by the alliteration, which is of course only on primary stresses. And to any objection that the two alliterative sounds in an AS half-line are presumptive evidences for the two-accent theory, one may reply, besides, that the evidence is at best available for first half-lines, and then only for some; while for the rest and for all second half-lines it is, by the same token, evidence for a one-accent theory! The "difficulty" may be resolved by experiment. The alliteration loses nothing by the four-accent reading; on the contrary, it actually gains, as coordinating and coordinated with the rest of the speech-material, in one onward movement, as opposed to the tendency toward spasmodic isolation which it manifests in a two-accent scansion. Moreover, in ME and Md E two-fold alliteration is a common (and, I believe, the characteristic and natural) alliteration in a four-accent line, as in the following random illustrations:

Where is al thi michele pride,
And thi lede that was so loud?
Whi list ou there so bare o side,
Ipricked in that pore shroud?
(Debate of Body and Soul)
Or idly list the shrilling lay....
By warriors wrought in steely weeds....
(Marmion.)

Or shall we say the two alliterations here prove a two-stress line?

To say that these added stresses are prevailingly weak stresses is not the same as saying the result is merely the familiar Sievers types: the weak stresses—even the weakest—are still stresses, for the simple untechnical reason that they mark time in the verse, which Sievers' unaccented syllables don't; they may make time, but they don't mark time. This point of difference is of vital importance. And a reminder of Greek dipodies should be sufficient answer to a

demur that "accents are accents", and that thus alternations of strong and weak stress are alternations in effect of strong and non-stress. A complete shutting of the ears is such a demur.

In talking about metrics, no object lesson, however elementary, may be dismissed a priori as superfluous. It is bound to be useful to somebody. So I may be pardoned for the following demonstratio ad hoc. I attempt to amuse my little friend, Daisy Jones, with extempore rhymes. I say 1)

Daísy, Daísy, Daísy, Daísy, Líttle lády, dón't be lázy.

And I say it over 2)

Dái—sỳ, Dái—sỳ, Líttle làdy lá—zỳ.

Number (1) is a couplet of four accents with the child's name four times repeated. Number (2) is a couplet of four accents with the child's name twice repeated. There is a difference of stress, between the second-and-fourth stresses of (1) upon the dai-, on the one hand, and the second-andfourth stresses of (2) upon the -sy, on the other hand,which is the difference between monopodic and dipodic structure; but there is no difference in respect to each pair having the same time-marking function in their respective verse schemes; and there is all the difference in the world between the two -sy's in (2), with their secondary stress—still stress and the four -sy's in (1) with no stress at all. The dipody dai-sy, dai-sy, of number (2), is applicable at once to a more specific difficulty in the understanding of the four-accent theory in Beowulf. It corresponds to such half-lines as sidra sorga (ON. asa gartha) of which (to borrow from Sievers' tables—and without Sievers' help who could attack Sievers!) there are 497 instances in the first half, and 592 in the second, i. e., 1089 out of the 6364 half lines in B. affirm that any scop could employ such a percentage of foursyllable half-lines in a four accent half-line is (you say) at once a reductio ad absurdum as to the theory, and cause for a

writ of de inquirendo as to the theorist. To stress all syllables is the same as to stress none—either is equally a cancellation of metre. But sidra sorga is nothing but dai-sy, dai-sy—or the Schneckhaus, Schneckhaus of our preceding quotation from a German nursery.

Or again, take the lines

Cross-patch, draw the latch,
Sit by the fire and spin; [pause]
Take a cup and drink it up,
And call all your neighbors in. [pause].

This is an old Germanic four-accenter, like the Schneckhaus verses,—except for the replacing of the fourth accent by second half-line pauses (as in the Niebelungenlied) that do not concern us here. Sidra has in its line the metrics of cross-patch in its line. And if you'll modify the first and third lines, as I used to when swinging on the front gate—geong in geardum—

Cross-patch, draw latch, [half pause]
Sit by the fire and spin; [full pause]
Take cup, drink up, [half pause]
And call all your neighbors in [full pause],

you'll have sidra sorga. "Yes, but these are rhymes". Change then, to

Cross-patch, shut door,
Sit by the fire and spin;
Take cup, drink down,
And call all your neighbors in. [pauses as above]

There is nothing impossible about it—when the tune is supplied by familiar custom or metrical context. Indeed, Sievers himself scans such A lines as guth-rinc gold-wlonc with just this cadence. And the cadence is of "such frequent recurrence" in Beowulf for the sufficient reason that the old scop liked the cadence, particularly as interwoven into many different metrical patterns. And he liked it presumably because it was flesh and blood of the very oldest tradition (most typical of the common Germanic cadences, and nearest

kin to the pre-Germanic). And to a modern reader of Beowulf it should offer no difficulties.

To all of which the two-accent man, irritated but unshaken, would doubtless reply, if he deigned to reply at all: "Sievers' theory is not a theory but a fact—the laws he has worked out in such detail work out themselves in every application to detail. It is a priori inconceivable that a false principle can bring intellectual order to the phenomena to which it is applied." It is thus that we so often flatter ourselves into intellectual content, in the face of racial experience. The Ptolemaic theory manipulated the heavenly bodies into a workable system for intelligence: the Linnean classification was workable and served a good purpose before the days of Lamarck and Darwin; the molecular theories of physics and chemistry of but yesterday yielded workable formulae that advanced science; but all three have been overset by theories more workable, as men came to know about more facts and more about what "workable" means for the facts. "Workable" is a purely relative term, -relative to the stage of our knowledge and the stage of our reason. No principle that works is totally false for an intelligence like man's which is constantly moving on. But Sievers' principle, in this our modest science of metrics, is, in any case, not false, but rather incomplete (in this more like old-time physics than old-time astronomy). The type distinctions, the proportionate use of types, the relations between quantity and accent, the rules of alliteration, etc., the application of such formulations to text criticism,—all these remain in great part as invaluable for the four-accent theory as for the two-accent theory.

But there is another concept of workability besides application of intellectual analysis. It is application to organic movement. Let it be reiterated: the four-accent theory goes better, works better in that it reveals an organic movement, a metrical life; and the two-accent theory to a surprising degree does not. The obvious retort is that this is to surrender the whole case over to subjective whim. It is not. I am convinced by such objective experiments as

it has been practicable for me to make that, if the two modes of reciting the lines should be tried out before any audience (as tried out in my classes)—however ignorant of AS, provided only it were composed of alert and trained ears.—the decision as to which was metrical and which was not, as to which was verse and which not, would be forthcoming at And it would be a decision of the same human metrical consciousness to which the verse was originally addressed. Nor is it insignificant that, for myself, I found it possible for my verbal memory—fairly practiced in verse to retain the lines without effort, only after adopting the four-accent scansion—and this small fact of my subjective experience is no less objective as fact than any other fact. The difference of effect and manipulation in the two modes is to me as great as the difference between Dryden's and ten Brink's scansion of Chaucer.

Argument from authority will get us nowhere. Sievers' pupils will recall Sievers' affirmation that his ear preferred the two-accent recitation: but pupils of Roethe will recall Roethe's reading a passage of the Heliand with two accents and throwing the book down on the desk with the despairing remark, "Ja, aber meine Herrn, das sind keine Verse mehr!" Let one like what one likes—but let the objective and impersonal metronome, if you insist, decide whether what one likes is metre, one metre with freely varying modulations, or a continuum of five (in truth more than five) variously interwoven brief prose, or semi-prose, rhythms.15 However, no scientific apparatus exists of such nice precision as to tell us whether the metrical movement (proven by metronome!) is merely accidental to a modern and entirely unhistorical scansion, or intrinsic to the old Germanic art itself! One can read Homeric hexameters in two ways: according to the prose accentuation or according to the quantitative measure. The latter is metrical, the former is not; and the metricality is its own justification, without carrying



¹⁵ Aelfric's oft remarked poetical prose-passages might seem a bit of evidence for this view; but they cannot be discussed here. Sievers, of course, admits that his "scansion" has similarities to prose-rhythms.

the *Iliad* into the laboratory. So with the old Germanic. A four-accent reading is consistently possible and consistently metrical; a two-accent reading is consistently possible (if one has an elastic palate and a tripping tongue, and forgets with D and E to count 3), but far from consistently metrical. Which was the old Germanic mode for Germanic poetry? Which is closer to that orchestic rhythm—by common consent as basic for the *beginnings* of OG poetry as it is for the relatively *modern* folk-song?¹⁶

There is a folk, far up by the northern seas, that speaks a Germanic language which is today still representative (in some respects) of an earlier ethnic (linguistic) stage, than Anglo-Saxon even of the eighth century. This folk talks essentially the language that Ohthere, the Viking, talked when he told "Alfred, his overlord", of his voyage around the North Cape, the Amundsen of men's first polar expedition—which Alfred made into an ON saga and inserted in his Orosius. Their favorite reading is still in the ancient stories of their heroic age. I have been told by one of them, now a graduate student in Germanic literature at Wisconsin, that during the long Arctic evenings, when the laborers of the country-side gather in some big farm-house living room to card wool or to spin, the master of the house, or one of their number with a good voice, reads to them, as

¹⁶ I don't mean that a change in metrical structure may not develop in the course of time-or has never developed-from an orchestic rhythm; I mean simply that there is no reason whatever for supposing that it has to in general, or that it did in the OG. Nor, does evolution in speech from generation to generation necessarily involve evolution of metrics (e. g. from four to two stresses). Changing speech-material may be plastic to an unchanged tune—and a tune (like any other phenomenon of a formula character) is always relatively conservative. Chaucer wrote rhyme-royal stanzas in a ME dialect; Sackville, 150 years later, was manipulating the very same cadences, after epoch-making changes in the reduction of final syllables and in the shifting of word-stress. The analytic subtilties, the practiced realism (i. e. the sense for aural fact) in the service of the most difficult, because most familiar, phenomena, in such books of the Sievers' school as Saran's Verslehre, have greatly advanced our general understanding of prose-speech and verse-speech, in the last decades: but still leave us free to demur at the sanction they lend to the two-accent theory. The modern four-accent man does not go back to the doctrine before 1885 any more than the modern Lamarckian goes back to the doctrine before 1859.

they work, saga after saga in the very words. And although the more difficult language of the earlier Edda is even to the modern Icelander somewhat strange, it is still his language as it is not ours; and I hold it not insignificant that, when he reads me aloud the *Thrymskvitha*, again and again I distinctly mark the secondary stresses that would not be there to mark if read conscientiously by a two-accent man; and that, when I read it aloud to him with careful attention to a four-accent delivery, he finds in such scansion nothing grotesque or foreign to his ear—but rather catches (in spite of my American nasality) the reverberations of an ancestral tune:

Flo tha Loki, fjathrhamr dunthi, unz fyr utan kom asa gartha ok fyr innan kom jotna heima

Thrymr sat a haugi, thursa drottinn, Greyjum sinum gull-bond snoeri, ok morum sinum non jafnathi.

Or of Thor, just awake, showing his wrath at the loss of his hammer:

Skegg nam at hrista skor nam at dyja, reth Jarthar burr um at threifask

Took to shaking beard then,
The son-of-Earth he started groping round him there.

And the *Niebelungen* form of the above couplet reminds us of the practical purpose of this apparent digression: to popularize the contention that the *Niebelungen* verse is ultimately the same verse as the ON just cited, is the same as the *Beowulf*.

The unrhymed eight accent long-line of the earlier art became the rhymed eight accent long-line of the later, with loss of some types and with more speech-filling between accents and less demarkation at times between primary and secondary accents, a final pause coming to occupy like the ghost of a dead sound, the place of the original last foot. A word at this point on the final pause. This linguistic—not

metrical—shortening of the second-half seems to have been an evolution mainly due to rhyme-evolution. (But cf. note to types IIb, III, page 145 below). Half-line and longline rhyme were present sporadically before any Latin influence. Where later the rhyme technique developed in halflines, the second line remained in speech-material nearly equal to the first, as in Layamon and the ME couplets in direct line of descent from Layamon, or as in Otfried and the MHG couplets in direct line of descent from Otfried; when the rhyme technique developed in long-lines, the old tendency (noted by Wilmanns) of the second-half to contract its speech-material, owing to the Hauptstab, seems to have been accentuated, after the loss of the Hauptstab, by end-rhyme. The long-line end-rhyme became apparently an insistent terminus ad quem and one hastened to get there as soon as possible—and rest up a bit afterwards. The endrhyme obscured the original fact of half-line pairs of fairly equal speech material; and gave to the long-line a unity it did not originally possess; it was now felt as a long lineand rather too long. But the old metric asserted itself, and still does, in the final pause.

The details of the process,—how the shortening took place—cannot be here examined; they must remain, in any case, a matter of conjecture; for what we have are the two sets of facts: the four-accent second-half and the three-ac-The versifier never thought to record the cent second-half. psychology of the change consciously and the unconscious record is unclear in meaning. But conjecture may be mere manipulation of formulae on paper or it may depend in a measure on the insight of personal experience. My own experience in versifying has in its own way its dangers too, but I cannot eliminate it from my thinking and feel that I should not, for it constitutes my sole claim to contribute to the subject and stresses a means of approach that has never been given due recognition by the "science". It seems clear to me as a versifier that an important detail of the process must often have been the loss of a secondary stress somewhere before a masculine rhyme (i. e., a rhyme on a final dominant stress—theoretically in types IIa or IIb and III¹⁷—but practically almost always in IIa, IIb). Take this chance couplet in Beowulf (890-1):

hwaéthre him gesaéldè thaèt thaet swûrd thùrhwód wraétlicnè wýrm thaèt hit on weállè aetstód.

If these lines had come in the midst of an end-rhyme context,—and not in this half-line context—the second halves would have lost each that accent which, on one ground or another, was the easiest to be lost. The loss in these lines might have been the loss of the first weak stress (thaet) of each second half-line, or of thurh and of the e of wealle respectively (with the probability much in favor of the former, for thurh is a heavy syllable and logically emphatic, and the e in wealle is elsewhere an already insistent cadence, and emphasized by the aet-following). The lines would then read

hwaéthre hìm gesaéldè thaet thaet swurd thurhwód wraétlicnè wýrm thaet hit on weállè aestód.

If one could transpose the order of secondary and primary stresses in the first-half of the second long-line, one would have here almost a Niebelungen verse. The process seems, also, to have been furthered by the awkward technique of rhyme-matching, whereby sometimes a rhyme was single (on primary stress sar, gar, or on secondary stress, himiles and libhaftes), or single-double (on both primary and secondary stress wibes libes) where there was rhyme already at the third stress. This would work toward a weakening of the end-rhyme, i. e., a reduction of secondary stress to non-stress, to what we call feminine rhyme, and the line would then have lost its last foot,—and the further shortening to masculine rhymes would involve no metrical difference. It will be remembered, too, that in Kaluza's types I, IVa, IVb (Sievers' A, C, D1), the last stress is a secondary, and that

15 The examples are from Otfried's OHG.



 $^{^{17}\,\}text{The}$ student who has forgotten these types of Kaluza's formulation will find further references on p. 143 ff.

in IVa and IVb always, and in I, usually, it immediately follows the preceding (a primary) stress, so that in these three very common types the reduction of but a single syllable yields us the three-accent second-half. But I have no right to say this much if I cannot say more; and more now would lead me too far afield.¹⁰

Yet one word may be permitted on Otfried—the Scholar's House of Confusion, where already lie so many Germanic worthies slain by the monster, Metrik. Gaeth a Wyrd swa heo sceal—and if it's my turn, very well. But like a brave man I will say my thought before my end. In thus conceiving Otfried as the intermediate stage between Beowulf and the Niebelungen, I conceive, of course, that Otfried's eight-accent long-line is as to number of accents, not at all, and as to relative position of accents, only in part, affected by the metrics or the rhyme of the mediaeval Latin hymn. And this is to assert that Otfried, anxious though he was to accommodate his "barbaric" German to the finesse of the new "Christian" culture, was still unemancipated from old folk-tradition,-was still, in short, writing what was in principle Germanic verse, though one of the old types (the so-called "E") has all but disappeared. 19a

That he was trying, like Opitz later, to do something new is clear both from his preface, his accent-marks, his rhymes, and the Latinized modification toward greater regularity in interchange of thesis (stress) and arsis which his



[&]quot;Professor G. P. Jackson of North Dakota in a paper, The Beginnings of Rhyme, read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association, at Madison, Dec. 1917, derives the rhyme at the end of a seven-accent long-line from the effect of compensative stress before the end-pause, and from the coincident rhythmical character of the "melodic curve" (i.e. the movement from an harmonically fundamental initial tone to the final return to the tonic of the scale) in the accompanying music. His brief outline promises interesting and important results. If I understand him, his theory inverts the relations suggested above, by making the seven-accent line and its final pause, and the coincident melodic curve, precede rhyme. The question is also involved with the Latin septimarius; but the seven-accent line cannot be explained merely as an imitation of a foreign model.

¹⁹a Peculiarities which in a four-accent scansion of *Beowelf* are pronounced artistically or psychologically impossible seem to occasion no difficulties to the objectors when they mark the scansion of Otfried—in principle precisely as the four-accent men mark the scansion of Beowulf.

lines underwent as his work proceeded. But this "something new" would not have left such admitted reminders of something old (in metre, phrase-formula, and word-accentuation) if it had been something entirely new,—that is, if it had been an eight-accent Latin line for a four-accent Germanic. The break would have been too complete. Let us suppose blank-verse is the folk-verse of my race and the only verse I have composed in. Then, blank-verse (five accents) might well hamper me in trying to write English hendecasyllabics (five accents) after Catullus,-and my hendecasyllabics would betray my blank-verse inheritance—nor is my illustration altogether without reference to experience—but memories of blank verse in my ear or in my handicraft would not hamper me in attempting a double anapestic dimeter acatalectic (four dipodies, eight accents) after the Greek. Such an illustration from my metrical consciousness and performance proves of course nothing for Otfried's metrical consciousness and performance. must go to Otfried himself, but one must go with full realization of the nature of the problem—and concrete experience may supply useful clues. The intuitionalism of modern speculative philosophy has its application to philological science.

The preceding section (V) outlined the metrical relations between the verse-medium of my Beowulf translation and the Niebelungen verse. The present section has identified the Niebelungen verse historically with the verse of Beowulf. This section (and therewith this discussion) now concludes with some illustrations as to the relation of my verse directly to the AS, which may serve to bind the two sections together. They are illustrations, I say, not arguments. The procedure will depart pretty far, I fear, from the traditions of scientific method, but it is the most practical method for one who writes verse and writes about verse. I will now try to manipulate modern English speech-material in the AS manner and evolve it into its own manner. There are all but insuperable linguistic difficulties in the modern English: the level-stress of many essential compounds, the ab-

sence of secondary accents on derivative syllables of non-compounds, and the only too variable and plastic quantity and quality of vowels must permit some freedom of manipulation on my part, as it will require a particularly acute ear and a total suppression of the sense of humor on the reader's part. Adopting the type-notation of Kaluza, we set down a few of many possible metrical parallels, type for type, between AS and MdE.

I. (Sievers' A).
(Scheme: / / /)
sidra sorga
folcum gefraege
gamol-feax ond guth-rof
hylde him tha heatho-deor

Sorrows unbounded (translating sidra sorga in my version)
Wind-cliff and wild wave
Geat-folk in sorrow
Higelac's thane did
Hasten to the haunted
Sinketh he, sinketh she

These correspondences are generic, not pedantically imitative, as they might be made—cf. sídrà sórgà — táke cùp, drínk ùp.

IIa (Sievers' B).

(Scheme: \ / \ /)

ne leof ne lath

mid his haletha gedriht

waes him Beowulfes sith

Where the longest of them lurks He the mighty man of men Seeks the monster in the murk

To render in English such a cadence as ne leof ne lath one particularly needs metrical context and a special start. It would reveal itself in the final line of such funereal nonsense as this:

Pax vobiscum, ye who know

Never a blessing, never a blow,

Never a high thing, never a low,

nor a weal, nor a woe,

Nor friend.......nor foe.

This cadence is impossible in my translation, but only because the whole type is impossible: impossible in the second-half because the second-half has in speech-material only three stresses; impossible in the first because there the half-line ends on a secondary stress,—even in an atypical line with arsis between last two stresses, like

"Yet can God that scather mad turn from his deed"

quoted on page 113. It can be adapted to (I do not say it evolved historically into) type I by one of two modifications:
a) by shifting first secondary stress to last (e. g., "Hè the mightièst of mén" to "The mightièst of mén, hè"), or by reversal of second secondary and final dominant (e. g., "He the mighty màn of MÉN" to "He the mighty MÁN of mèn—"Yet can God that scather màd".) The type can exist in the Niebelungen only in the second half of the fourth line of the strophe; but even what there at first seems to be this type has often a somewhat different disposition of primary and secondary stresses, as (1717)

und will im immer wesen holt.

I and IIa are dipodic; but I remains so in later Germanic more consistently than IIa, I believe.

IIb (Sievers' D2).
(Scheme: // //)
atol ytha geswing
blaed wide sprang

Fiercest foul thing aswim, Gray, green thing grim, Came and cat-clawed him. Impossible in my translation, but elimination of the one weak-stress word reduces it to second half-line cadences like

high hills steep.

See previous quotation from the translation.

I utilize rhyme and stanza here, as under IIa, to assist whipping the recalcitrant English material into metrically satisfactory behavior.

III (Sievers' E).
(Scheme: / \ /)
Aethelinges faer
murnende mod
wlite-beorhtne wang

(Stresses run: 3, 2, 1, 3,—No. 1, the weakest, being on-es, -e, -ne)

OFF-spring of HELL
EVen-tide in EAST,

SHIMmer-ing off SHORE (or: SHIMmers light off SHORE)

These are not satisfactory as parallels, obviously, unless read under the guidance of the AS cadence. The type appears to have been always subordinate and the first to be modified or abandoned in the later developments of Germanic languages and metrics,—cf. Otfried. It is impossible in my line: impossible in the second-half because it is a four-accenter, impossible in the first-half because its fourth stress is primary. It would appear in the first-half with the final primary and secondary reversed, as I, "Shimm-'ring OFF-shore", (or as IVb, "Shimmers light OFF-shore,") and, in the second without the weakest stress, "Even-tide in east" (cf. murnende mod in Beowulf with vliesendes bluot in Niebelungen.)

IVa (Sievers' C).
(Scheme: \ / \ \)
Over lagu-straete
thaet ic sae-naessas
O'er the billows' by-ways²⁰
By the sea-nesses

 $^{^{20}}$ Possible too, as \diagdown \backslash \backslash \backslash which is not an AS cadence, at least theoretically.

IVb (Sievers' D1).
(Scheme: / / \\ \)²
gode thancode
Maere meare-stapa
Mighty march-roamer

An easy one for the English in the first half-line of a Niebelungen verse: cf. note under III above.

Let us try putting such lines together, changing words a little to get some long-line alliteration, and interweaving with others in similar cadences, to make a little "episode", suggested by a passage in the *Beowulf*:

Geat-folk unfearful follow to the eery Wind-cliffs and wild waves where weird ones are splashing; Hygelac's thane did what never other: He the mighty man of men seeks monster in her lair-Mighty march-roamer. moody sea-farer. Even-tide in east. all up the heavens; Shimmers light off shore: shadowy from the evil eyes, Where the longest of them lurks. Lankest foul thing affoat, Gray, green thing there. grips and cat-claws him. Sinketh he, sinketh she, under surface of the deep. and the waves' tumult, By the water's high-ways, seated all in war-coats, On the sea-nesses. Geat-folk in sorrow grieve for the morning.

No reading can make this sound like modern English verse. But, moreover, no reading can make this sound exactly like the *Beowulf*. Obviously it does not sound like the familiar two-accent scansion, because it is a four-accent scansion. But even as a four-accent it is unlike: there is more speechfilling and the types tend to run into pairs or groups, and here are already the first changes in the direction of my modern English line.

It might be made over into half-line (4 accent) rhymes:

Geat-folk undaunted Hasten to the haunted Wind-cliffs and wild waves Where foul things defiled waves;

mAs to the relation of these paper-formulae to the living verses, particularly with reference to primary and secondary stress, see above, p. 181.

Hygelac's thane did What never Dane did: He the mightiest of men Seeks demon in den, Mighty march-roamer, Swiftest sea-comer....

which is Layamon and Otfried (a little set to rights).

It might be made over into long-line (8 accent) rhymes:

Geat-folk unfearful follow to the eery
Wind-cliffs and wild waves woeful and dreary....

which is what the ME author of On god ureison of ure lefdi was apparently trying for:

Vor thu me havest iholpen aueole kunne wise, And ibrouht [me] of helle into paradise—

the first attempt to adapt a Latin poem and metre into English, and, if studied in all its lines, quite as Germanic as Otfried, and for similar reasons.

But what there is to the "episode" as action, image, and tune only emerges in modern English when we arrange and modify the lines thus:

The Geat-folk unfearful follow to the sea, To wind-cliffs and wild waves where foul beasts be. what Dane would never dare: And Hygelac's thane doth He the mighty man of men will seek the monster's lair-Mighty march-roamer. swiftest ocean-beast. All up the heavens eventide in east: Shimmers light off shore, from the shadowy eyes Of evil where the longest of the lurkers lies. Fiercest floating foul thing, gray, green, grim, Comes she and clutches and cat-claws him-Till sinketh he and sinketh she to the deep and dim.... By the water-highways, by the wild mere, On the sea-nesses. in their warrior-gear, The Geat-folk in sorrow await the morning here.

This, with a proviso, is the *Niebelungen* verse of my translation. It differs, like the *Niebelungen* couplet, from the AS by the disappearance or modification of types IIa, IIb, and

III. And the other differences between the Niebelungen and the earlier verse, remarked above—the substitution of final pause for last foot, the tendency to greater speech-filling between stresses, the less clear demarkation at times between primary and secondary stresses (due probably to this tendency)—obtain here likewise, implicated in the modification of types. The proviso is that the cadences in the above passage—all of which could presumably be tabulated from the translation itself—are in the translation variously supported by others, previously noted in the metrical comparison between the English and its MHG model. And though the above exercise is frankly an artifice, the verse-form it illustrates is no artifice. It is simply the familiar idiomatic English long-line:

Sing a song of sixpence, a bag full of rye,

Four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie;

When the pie was opened And wasn't this a dainty dish to set before the king.

Moreover, if the four-accent theory is sound, the above illustrations will have emphasized that the metrical deviations of my medium from the original Niebelungen verse are in principle largely but an extension of deviations of the Niebelungen itself from the earlier metrical practices, as in the AS, deviations which it is significant became more marked in the recensions. Thus the claim for organic relationship between that medium and the AS verse it translates may be taken in both a metrical and an historical sense: organic as metrically similar, and organic as metrically derivative. It is no merely organic imitation, like Tennyson's Galliambics or Swinburne's Sapphics, of an otherwise exotic tune; it is no invention of the present translator; it is something in which one can trace, in the midst of later variations, the old and autochthonous, just as Friedlander has traced some themes of Germanic music through the centuries down to our day.

Perhaps the gist of the whole matter can be summarized by the following comparative scansions.²²

²² The distinctions between heavier and lighter secondary stresses can not be conveniently recorded.

Maél is mè to féràn; Faéder álwàldà
Mid ár-stàfùm eówic geheáldè
síthà gesúndè! ic to saé willè
with wráth wèròd weárdè heáldàn.

Time for me to fare back; in his mercy may [pause]
The Almighty Father, keep ye safe alway [pause]
On your voyage and venture. I will to the coast [pause]
There to hold my sea-watch gainst a hostile host. [pause]

Of course only rarely (as here in the first clause) will the metrical parallelism be a metrical identity, half-line for halfline.

Finally, the slighter differentiation between primary and secondary stresses that tends, as already pointed out, to obtain in the English, is associated with serial and proportionate distribution of primary and secondary in combinations not present in the AS, and with occasional un-AS alliterations on secondary stresses. Perhaps some enterprising Cand. Phil. will sometime tabulate them.

SPECIMEN PASSAGE (BEOWULF IX)

IX. "Thus the loathly lurkers pressed me sore and oft. I served them with my dear sword in ways not soft. the hope of fill was o'er-For those foul devisers a feast on ocean's floor! To eat me, to sit round But upon the morrow, wounded by the glaive, They were lying up along the leavings of the wave, Put to sleep by sword therene'er to thwart again Sailor-folk in ferrying the fords of the main. From the east a light rose-God's beacon bright: The rolling seas subsided, so that see I might Headlands and windy walls. Wyrd will often save An earl who is no fey man if he be but brave. And so to me 'twas granted that with sword I slew Nine there of the nicors. Nay. I never knew Under the vault of the heavens by night a fight more flerce. Nor on the streams of the ocean a man put to it worse. the clutch of monsters fell; Way-weary, yet I scaped

And the sea up-cast me, flood-tide and swell,
On the land of Finn-men. Never about thee
Such straits of strife, such terrors of sword-blades heard
I tell;

Ne'er yet at war-play Breca, nor neither one of ye,

Did deed so bold with bloody brands— nor boast I of
that fray—

Though thou forsooth thy brothers, thy kin-of-heart, didst slay!

(Whence curse of hell awaits thee though good thy wit may be.)

I say to thee in sooth now,
That Grendel ne'er so many
The Grisly ne'er such havoe
If thought of thine, if soul of thine,

were grim as thy telling.

But he hath found he needeth

Little from thy people, the Victor-Scylding folk!

He taketh the forced pledges, unsparingly he rends,

He hath his lust of slaughter, he puts to sleep, he sends,—

He recketh not of any contest with the Dane.

But speedily 'tis mine now to show him might and

main,
The warrior-work of Geatmen!

Blithe to mead tomorrow—
Shineth from the southward,
Once more that light-of-morning,

Met him go who can
when o'er bairns of man
on other day begun,
the sky-girt sun."

Then the Prince of Bright-Danes, the Treasure-Breaker he,

The old-haired and war-famed, had his time of glee.

Now in help he trusted; from Beowulf he caught,

He his people's Shepherd, the firm-resolved thought.

Then was there heroes' laughter, and rang the shout and song.

And merry speech was bandled; along

Wealhtheow, queen of Hrothgar, And gold-bedight she greeted And then the high-born lady To him who was the Warder and then stepped forth

mindful of manners all, the guest-men in the hall erst gave the cup in hand of East-Danes' fatherland;

¹ Reading on lust wigeth.

And him she bade be blithesome² at the bout-of-beer,
Him beloved of clansmen. He took with goodly cheer
The banquet and the beaker, the King of victory-fame.
Then round the hall to each and all she stepped, the
Helmings' dame.

And gave to young and older
Till came the happy moment
Crown-bedight and high-souled,
She greeted the Geats' lord;
Wise in her word-craft,
That she could trust some earlman
Tors given.

the goblet rich-beseen,
when in hall the queen,
the cup to Beowulf bore.
God she thanked therefore,
for help 'gainst horrors given.

He took the cup from Wealhtheow, a warsman fierce-tosmite:

And then he offered answer,
Beowulf made a speech then,
"When with my troop of tribesmen,
And sate me in my sailor-boat,
me:

eager for the fight.

bairn of Ecgtheow he:

I mounted on the sea,
I had this thought in

Either to work for all time thy peoples' will at last,
Or to fall afighting in grip of Grendel fast.
Firm am I to do my eariman's deed withal,
Or to dree my end-of-days in this mead-hall."
Those words well pleased that woman,— the Geatman's battle-vows;

And gold-bedight she went, then, to sit beside her spouse,

And once again there be

and hall-men in glee, Brave words spoken, And uproar of victor-folk until the King anon, Halfdane's son. Would seek his evening resting-place, the fiend on that high floor. He knew that battle waited After they the sun-light could see no more, After the dun night was over all about, And the shapes of shadow should come aprowling out, Wan beneath the welkin. Together rose the clan; Then Hrothgar greeted Beowulf, man wishing luck to

man;

Gave him of that wine-house the power and sway, and swore:

"Never have I trusted to any man before,—

Not since I could heave up hand and shield of me,—

Folk-queen high-born.

i. e., Wished him good cheer, said "prosit."

This brave house of Danesmen, until now to thee.

Have now and hold it—

Remember thy glory,—

Watch against the wrathful!

Watch thy life thou seest

until now to thee.

this excelling hall!

make known thy might to all!

Each wish of thine I'll do,
this deed of daring through."

NOTES ON A MIDDLE ENGLISH SCRIBE'S METHODS

MURIEL BOTHWELL CARR

These notes owe their origin to the fact that in examining the evidence for the dialect of Sir Degarre, no. 17 in the Auchinleck MS, I found it conflicting, and, in order to interpret the confusion, wanted to know something definite about the scribe's copying methods, especially about the extent to which he introduced his own forms, both in the interior of the line and in rhyme-words. When I turned for information on this point to editions of other works copied by the same scribe, indicated by Kölbing as a, I found that only sixteen works were provided with linguistic studies or introductions, and that few of these gave any facts about

¹W41 in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh; described by E. Kölbing, Vier Romans Handschrifton, Est. VII: 178-191.

²He copied in all thirty-five works (exclusive of no. 27, a mere patch of erasures). For six of these his copies are unique: Lai le Freine (30), Roland and Vernagu (31), Pealm 50 (36), Sir Trietrem (37), The Enemies of Man (39), Praise of Women '(42); for nine more, though there are other versions, there are no other copies of his version: Legend of Pope Gregory (1), Adam and Eva (3), St. Patrick's Purgatory (6), Marie Maudelein (12), Joachim and Anna (18), The Seven Deadly Sine (14), Pater Noster (15), Assumption of the Virgin (16), Horn Childe and Maiden Rimmild (41); of twelve others his copies are the earliest: The King of Tars (2), The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin (9), Amis and Amiloun (11), Sir Degarre (17), The Seven Wise Masters (18), On the Evil Times of Edward II (20), Sir Guy of Warwick (continuation) (23), Arthour end Merlin (26), A Peniworth of Witte (28), King Alisaunder (33), Sir Orfeo (38), King Richard (48); for the remaining eight there are other and earlier MSS: St. Margaret (4), St. Katherine (5), The Debate of the Body and the Soul (7), The Harrowing of Hell (8), Floris and Blauncheflour (19), How Our Lady's Pealter Was Made (29), The Throstlecock and the Nightingale (34), The Sayings of St. Bernard (85). *Op. cit., pp. 183, 186, 187, 188, 190.

⁴1869, Laurin, Essay on Lang. of Lay le Freine, Upsal. dissert., Stock-

⁽See Lay le Freine, ed. Varnhagen, 1880, Angl. III: 415, for text).

^{1877,} St. Patrick's Purgatory, ed. Kölbing, ESt I:57.

^{1880,} Sir Orfeo, ed. Zielke, Breslau.

^{1882,} Rouland and Vernagu, ed. Herrtage, EETS. ES 39, 35.

a's copying methods, and those few generally indirectly. The habits indicated for a few poems are the introduction of a's own dialect forms, chiefly into the interior of the lines, the retention also of dialect forms not his own, and the occasional change of a rhyme-spelling or rhyme-word, improving or impairing the rhyme.⁵ Full information as to the extent

- 1885, Wichter, Untersuchungen über die Beiden Me. Ged. R and V. und Otuel, Berlin diss.
- 1882, Kostermann, Ueber Sprache, Poetik und Stil der altenglischen Gregorius legende des Auchinleck MS., Münster diss., Hagen i. W.
- 1914, Die Me Gregorius legende, ed. Keller, Heidelberg.
 - I have not been able to examine either of the two following:
- 1876, F. Schulz, Die englische Gregoriegende nach dem Auchinieck MS.
- 1909, Keller, Einleitung zu einer Kritischer Ausgabe der Me Gregorius Legende, Kiel.
- 1882, Sir Tristrem, ed. Kölbing, Heilbronn.
- 1884. Amis and Amiloun, ed. Kölbing, AEB 2, Heilbronn.
- 1885, Floris and Blaunchofleur, ed. Hausknecht, Samml. Engl. Donkm. V. Berlin.
- 1885, Assumption of the Virgin, ed. Schwarz, ESt VIII:427
- 1887, Sir Guy of Warwick in Wilda, Ueber die Oertliche Verbreitung der 18-seiligen Schweifreinstrophe in England, Breslau, pp. 46-55. The summary in PMLA 20, xxviii, of Penn's article On the dialect of the Auch. and Caius MSS of Guy of Warwick gives no facts about the scribe.
- 1888, The King of Tars, ed. Krause, ESt XI:1.
- 1889, Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild, ed. Caro, ESt XII: 828.
- 1889, The Debate of the Body and the Soul, ed. Linow, Erk Beitr. I.
- 1892, Kunze, The Desputisous etc. . . Textkritische Versuch,
 Berlin Diss. (not accessible to me)
- 1890, Arthour and Merlin, ed. Kölbing, AEB 4, Leipzig.
- 1890, The Seven Sages in Arthour and Merlin ed. Kölbing, pp. LVII– LIX and note to p. LVIII.
- 1891, Bachmann, Die Beiden Metr. Versionen des Me Canticum de Creatione, Hamburg. (Listed above as Adam and Eva)

For the following works as copied by a, I know of no linguistic studies in print.

- (4) St. Margaret, (5) St. Katherine, (8) The Harrowing of Hell, (9) The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin, (12) Marie Mandelein, (13) Joachim and Anna, (14) The Seven Deadly Sins, (15) Pater Noster, (17) Sir Degarre, (20) On the Evil Times of Edward II, (28) A Peniworth of Witte, (38) King Alisaunder, (34) The Throsticocck and the Nightingale, (35) The Sayings of St. Bernard, (36) Pealm L, (39) The Enemies of Man, (42) The Praise of Women, (43) King Richard. It is possible that Mall's edition of (8) The Harrowing of Hell, Breslau, 1871, which I have not seen, may contain some information on the language of the Auchinleck version. For (17) Sir Degarre I have complete studies of phonology and inflection in MS.
- *For The Debate of the Body and the Soul (p. 19) we learn only of a MS mixture of unspecified dialects, for The King of Tars (p. 19) of N and S mixture with N prevailing. Isolated forms in The Seven Sages (in Arthour and Merlin, p. lviii), Canticum de Creatione (p. 17), and the

and conditions of his alteration or retention of forms is wanting, and it is only full information that is really serviceable. The basis, also, for inferences as to a's copying-methods, namely, complete statistics for the total variety of forms in the texts he copied, is also wanting, for the most part, in the linguistic studies. The four which do describe the total variety

Assumption (p. 447) are more or less tentatively assigned to a scribe. For Horn Childe the scribe is credited with respecting the original on the whole in spite of the presence of S forms within the line (p. 343); in Roland and Vernagu (Wächter p. 34) he is said to have introduced S forms within the line; for Amis and Amiloun (pp. xxiii-xxvi) Kölbing answers the question of how a's orthography corresponds to the NEM dialect assigned to the original, by listing more southerly forms found within the line and ascribing to a a more southerly dialect. To the scribe's desire to improve the rhyme is attributed the form of one word in Arthour and Merlin (p. xxii). In Sir Orfeo he is described as allowing some inconsistencies of spelling (p. 44), of inflection (pp. 67, 68), and as altering-if he be the N or NM transmitter referred to-the spelling of a S dialect criterion at the expense of the rhyme to conform to his own usage (p. 47). The same and other traits are noticed in his practice in Sir Tristrem; Kölbing tells us he introduced S peculiarities in vocabulary and in inflection (no phonological examples are listed), but inconsistently left a number of N forms (p. lxxvii); that he is careless and inconsistent about the placing and omission of final e owing to the fact that this sound was only just audible to him (p. lxvi); but that, on the whole, he was not careless, though he disturbed rhymes by inserting his own dialect forms, spoiled one by replacing a rarer by a commoner word, and made some mistakes by letting his eye run ahead of the line he was copying (p. xiii).

If we disregard such introductions as Laurin's to Lay le Freine and Herrtage's to Roland and Vernagu, which, omitting phonology, summarize with a few random examples the inflections of the text as a whole, we may distinguish three kinds of editorial practice in the presentation of linguistic forms in texts copied by a. According to the first the investigator, concerned solely with identifying the dialect of the original, gives only dialect criteria in establishing rhymes. (See Gwy of Warwick in Wilda, Ueber die örtliche verbreitung, etc., pp. 8 and 46 ff.; The Debate of the Body and the Soul, ed. Linow, pp. 16-18; Arthur and Merlin, pp. xxi ff; The Seven Sages in Arthour and Merlin, pp. lvili ff. and note.) According to the second, after presenting forms of this kind, he adds in another section some generalizations with selected examples, or else some details, about scribal peculiarities within the line. For St. Patrick's Purgatory (pp. 98-96), for Roland and Vernagu (Wächter, pp. 82-36), for Sir Tristrem (pp. lvii-lviii), and for Horn Childe (p. 343), the editors give these extra facts about MS inflection and vocabulary only, not about phonology; (but cf. Sir Tristrem, p. xci, on preponderance of o for OE a within the line); for Amis and Amiloun (pp. xxxiii ff.) we learn also the MS equivalents of OE y; for The King of Tars (pp. 19-21) we get lists, phonological and inflectional, of what the editor calls the most characteristic MS forms, incomplete lists illustrated by a few examples not in rhyme. According to the third method, the editor presents in one section the total variety of forms in the MS, distinguishing exof forms,⁷ distinguishing between those in rhyme and those not in rhyme, and between establishing and non-establishing rhymes, do not give statistics as to the frequency of occurrence of all forms.⁸

Under these circumstances I decided to see what I could find out about a's methods by gathering all the facts as to his treatment of some OE vowel occurring frequently in one of the longer texts. I chose for examination OE \bar{a} , because its development is an important dialect criterion, and because it occurs frequently enough in and out of rhyme to afford large bodies of evidence; and I chose Sir Tristrem as a basis, because in it the dialects of original and of scribe appear to be in strongly marked contrast, and also because it alone has an exhaustive glossary. The facts regarding the presentation of OE \bar{a} are as follows:

1) OE monosyllables ending in \bar{a} are regularly written with \bar{o} in rhyme-words in Sir Tristrem; in the 3343 lines there are twenty-six rhyme-series with \bar{o} (stanzas 4, 10, 23, 40, 45, 87, 93, 96, 137, 154, 157, 158, 163, 167, 170, 185, 192, 197, 212, 217, 222, 234, 245, 271, 293); four rhyme-series with $\bar{o}:\bar{o}$ (stanzas 193, 269, 278, 291); two rhyme-series with \bar{a} (stanzas 56 ta: 3a: sa: ma: pra, and stanza 252 sla: ma: ta: wa: tva);

amples not in rhyme from those in rhyme, and establishing from non-establishing rhymes. He does not give the exact proportions in which the several forms occur, but he generally gives all instances of exceptional forms. For titles of works thus edited see below, note 7.

'Sir Orfeo (pp. 87-85), Florie and Blaunchesteur (pp. 108 ff.), The Assumption of the Virgin (pp. 444-447), and the Canticum de Creatione (Bachmann pp. 2 ff.). Kostermann, Ueber Sprache, Poetik und Stil der altenglischen Gregoriuslogende des Auchtnieck MS, gives no phonology except for the ablaut verbs, and, for inflections, does not distinguish between forms in rhyme and forms not in rhyme.

For example, with regard to the preposition on (an), within the line and in rhyme, all we can learn from the introduction to Floris and Blaunohefleur (p. 109) is that two rhymes of an with man occur (vv. 821, 1149); from the introduction to Horn Childe (p. 337) that there is one rhyme beron: don (329), and one an: for ban (333). For Sir Tristrem, on the contrary, Kölbing's excellent glossary (p. 186) gives complete facts: an occurs once in rhyme and five times out; the weakened form a twenty-one times and a ten times, both out of rhyme; on occurs everywhere else, though not in rhyme. For Sir Orfeo, Zielke (p. 37) first gives on as customary and an (except for anon) as found only in A 135 [an heizing]. Then below he cites opan: man 504, besides customary opon. Precise figures are wanting.

and two mixed rhyme-series with \bar{o} and \bar{o} (stanza 21. ga: ta: ma: also, and stanza 71 wo: ta: slo: pro). Out of rhyme all open monosyllables have \bar{o} for OE \bar{a} .

- 2) In closed monosyllables and words of more than one syllable the practice is apparently reversed:
- (a) OE ā appears as ā in forty-two rhyme-series of dissyllables (stanzas 14, 17, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39, 45, 53, 62, 66, 73, 75, 85, 87, 94, 99, 102, 105, 106, 112, 143, 162, 166, 175, 180, 191, 195, 227, 240, 246, 250 (2), 256, 266, 281, 282, 297, 298, 302, 304), in two rhyme-series of closed monosyllables in -t (stanzas 191, 227), and in five rhyme-series of monosyllables in -n (stanzas 11, tan: Morgan: stan: onan; 25, Morgan: man: stan: an: ban; 82 Morgan: tan: stan: nan: ban; 91 tan: pan: nan: ban: ytan; 129 ran: an: wan: man: tan.)
- (b) OE \bar{a} appears as \bar{o} in four rhyme-series of dissyllables (stanzas 26, 46, 272, 303), in two rhyme-series of monosyllables, and in one end-word not rhymed (stanza 79, wot: smot; 98 smot; 135 ston: ichon: bon: don: ton).
- (c) There are also six rhyme-series in which a has written fare: ware; 280 sore: more: zare; 71 rowe: knave; 159 wrop: $\bar{a}:\bar{o}$ (stanzas 50 more: schare: ware: zare; 183 þi nore: sore: clop: baþe: raþe; 69 anon: bigan: tan: þan). The glossary gives no forms in \bar{a} out of rhyme.

What hypothesis will explain this apparently inconsistent presentation of OE \bar{a} ? A fairly simple one, I think. In a N poem of the date of Sir Tristrem (ca 1300) the author would (in all probability) have written \bar{a} mainly, if not exclusively; the S or SM scribe's equivalent would be \bar{a} .

⁹ Morsbach, ME Gram., p. 136.

[&]quot;The chief proof that the scribe a wrote a southerly dialect is adduced by Kölbing in Sir Tristrem (p. lxxvii), and this identification is confirmed, on the whole, by the subjoined list of editorial opinions arranged in chronological order. Such variety or vagueness of opinion as there is in the list is probably not unrelated to the fact that no one of the editors concerned, so far as I have observed, refers to editions of other texts copied by a for relevant facts or theories about a's dialect; no one by explicit statement betrays his knowledge that one scribe copied all these works or even more than one of them. The opinions are as follows:

^{1880.} Zielke said that the MSS of Sir Orfeo (S or SM) pointed toward EM (p. 42); and that they all showed a mixed dialect

What has been the scribe's system of treating the fairly large number of \bar{a} 's which it is not too violent an assumption to suppose that he found in his original? Apparently he has had two main tendencies: (1) to write his own \bar{b} forms; (2) to write each rhyme-series with one vowel, \bar{a} if \bar{b} could not be carried through.

In the series of open monosyllables these two tendencies coincide; the scribe writes all but two of the series with one vowel only, and of these one-vowel series he writes all but two with \bar{o} , which he is able to carry through. That he does not write \bar{o} in stanza 56 is probably due to the fact that $\bar{s}a$ is one of the rhyme words. It is to be noticed too that in both this and the other \bar{a} series (stanza 252), and in each of the mixed series (stanzas 31 and 71), the word ta occurs. Though a writes it to in five series (stanzas 54, 87, 234, 245, 269), once (stanza 269) in rhyme with do, he may have been more willing to keep \bar{a} in this Northern word, and in a series in which it occurs, than in a word where the \bar{o} -form would be part of his

- in which M predominated, though the Auchinleck MS had N and S forms side by side (p. 54). That he attributed N forms to a appears in his statement that \mathcal{U} (OE \mathbb{I}_{y}) (:frute) in MS A was due to the N or NM transmitter, whereas the original belonged to S, though not to Kent, where \mathcal{U} was in use (p. 47). (May not \mathcal{U} be Kentish here?)
- 1882. Herrtage described the writer of Roland and Vernagu and of Otuel (poems by two different hands according to Kölbing, ESt VII:188) as an EM scribe "who from some reason or other was acquainted with S literature" (p. xvi). Three years later Wächter assigned him to S (p. 34).
- 1882. Kostermann, after identifying the original dialect of the Legend of St. Gregory as EM, said the text had N and S peculiarities, but more N (p. 3).
- 1882. Kölbing adduced inflectional evidence to prove that the scribe of Sir Tristrem wrote S (p. lxxxvii).
- 1884. He said the scribe of Amis and Amilous wrote a more southerly M than the author (p. xxxv).
- 1885. Schwarz guessed that a Kentish e in The Assumption might be due to some scribe (p. 447).
- 1888. Krause found N and S forms greatly mixed in both MSS of The King of Tars, with N forms greatly predominating in MS A (p. 19). He drew no conclusions as to the scribe's dialect.
- 1889. Caro found S peculiarities in *Horn Childe*, but said the scribe had on the whole preserved the "N resp. EM text" (p. 343).
- 1889. Linow described the MS dialect of The Debate of the Body and the Soul as very mixed (p. 19).

own usage. The absence of open monosyllables in \bar{a} within the line illustrates the scribe's first tendency.

In the representation of OE \bar{a} in dissyllables the second tendency, to write one rhyme-sound in a series, prevails over the tendency to write the familiar o. There are forty a-series, in thirty-seven of which \bar{a} is the only sound that could be carried through. One of the three exceptions is a series (stanza 298) in which the S equivalent would be bide: ride: in the other two (stanzas 162 and 250) we have bare, for which the scribe's equivalent is pere. Here, again, as for $t\bar{a}$ ($t\bar{o}$), he may have been more willing to leave the \bar{a} form than if the δ form had been his own usage. The glossary gives pore only three times, as opposed to pare once (it should be three times), par twice (in one stanza rhyming with fixed ā), and pere regular out of rhyme and five times in rhyme. The four \bar{o} series which occur beside the forty \bar{a} series of dissyllables illustrate again the coinciding of the scribe's two tendencies, and the \bar{o} forms within the line illustrate the first.

^{1890.} When Kölbing called the dialect of the Auchinleck version of The Seven Wise Masters a marked S (Arthour and Merlin, p. lviii); and when Killis Campbell remarked of it (1907) "Textually A is comparatively pure. Its dialect is Kentish" (The Seven Sages, Boston, 1907, p. xxxvii), both probably referred to the version rather than the text, but the inference is perhaps permissible that the text is also free of N forms.

^{1891.} Bachman indicated for Canticum de Creatione forms in MS from farther N than SEM (p. 17), and suggested that someone might possibly attribute the present participles in-and to a N scribe (p. 16).

I do not know whether Mall in his edition of the Harrowing of Hell (Breslau, 1871) characterized a's dialect, or Penn in his article on the dialect of Sir Guy of Warwick (summarized PMLA 20. xxvii). Kölbing, in editing St. Patrick's Purgatory and Arthour and Merlin, did not commit himself, nor did Hausknecht in editing Floris and Blanchefleur, nor Wilda on Guy of Warwick, nor Laurin on Lay le Freine.

Again, even if one considers not the editorial definitions of the scribe's dialect given above, but merely the general statements as to the variety of forms in the MSS, one finds additional confirmation of the southerly identification. In texts where many N and NM forms are said to occur, where the original dialect is represented as being N or NM, there also occur S forms, as in Sir Tristrem, The King of Tars, Roland and Vernagu, Horn Childe, and The Legend of St. Gregory; whereas in The Assumption, and in The Seven Wise Masters, of S or SM extraction, N forms, it seems, do not occur,—surely corroboration for those who assign a S or SM dialect to a rather than for those who, like Zielke in Sir Orfeo, would assign him a N one.

Of the five mixed dissyllable series (stanzas 50, 71, 159, 183, 280), two (159 and 183) fall into two shorter series apiece; the other three appear to be inconsistent; it is perhaps worth note that in all five the scribe begins with his own vowel and fails to carry it through; in one case (183) because he cannot.

Finally, of closed-monosyllable series, the majority have \bar{a} throughout. Here we find two series in \bar{a} before t (stanzas 191, 227) where \bar{o} could not be carried through; two in -n with the rhyme words tan and Morgan (stanzas 11, 82); one (stanza 91) with the rhyme words tan and pan; one (stanza 25) with Morgan and man; (I have not seen OE a (o) written o in any of a's copies.) In other words, the second principle applies: \bar{a} is carried through because \bar{o} cannot be written, and a has left the form tan perforce, or because he objected to it less than to pon for pan.\(^{11}\) In the only mixed series (stanza 69) he begins with anon (cf. the opening \bar{o} of all dissyllable mixed-series) but proceeds with tan, bigan, and pan. He uses ton only once, in rhyme with don, ston, etc. (stanza 135).

I am not presenting these particular inferences as to a's methods as conclusively proved, though I think they are sound. For proof one would need to get, as a rapid examination leads me to think one could, the same results from other poems and for other vowels and for inflections, at least when these occur in large numbers. What is important is to recognize that in such a large and dialectally miscellaneous MS collection as the Auchinleck, it is possible, owing to the mere bulk and variety of material, to get more definite knowledge of the scribe's methods of handling his original than editors have as yet obtained. It is unnecessary, of course, to expatiate on the value of such information in interpreting conflict of dialect forms in anonymous texts, especially when it is combined with further information about



 $^{^{11}}$ Cf. the series, with no OE d in it, ran: pan: wan: man: tan (stanza 129).

[&]quot;Arthour and Merlin alone has nearly ten thousand lines; Sir Tristrem and the continuation of Guy of Warwick have between three and four thousand each; Amis and Amiloun and The Seven Sages between two and three thousand each; Pope Gregory, The King of Tars, St Patrick's Purgatory, Sir Degarre, and Horn Childs, over a thousand each; and the nineteen remaining poems average perhaps four hundred lines apiece.

any consistencies the scribe may have exhibited as to spelling, phonology, or inflection; but perhaps it cannot be insisted too often that the only basis for this desirable knowledge is just the exhaustive information about the total variety of MS forms which the Auchinleck editors on the whole did not think it important to give.¹⁸

*For the practice of giving little information as to the total variety of forms in any one poem, Kölbing seems to have been largely responsible. In the introduction to St. Patrick's Purgatory (p. 93) he said that he confined himself to rhyme-established forms as the only basis for dialect determination. He criticized Hausknecht for too thorough presentation of forms within the line: one should confine oneself to rhymeestablished forms, or at least treat these separately from forms out of rhyme (ESt IX:94). His pupil Schwarz, editing The Assumption, apologized for paying more attention to forms within the line than would have been required under different circumstances (ESt VIII: 444). The source of Kölbing's view is to be found in a statement which he repeats in Sir Tristrem (p. lxxvii) from Zupitza:—Wenn ich mich schliesslich vom dialekte des dichters dazu wende, zu characterisiren, wie der abschreiber in sprachlicher hinsicht mit seinem texte umgegangen ist, so gedenke ich mich dabei sehr kurz zu fassen; die ansicht Zupitza's, Ans. f. d. a. VI, p. 46, er sehe keinen zweck darin die lautlehre der einzelnen handschriften ausführlich zu behandeln und dabei für längst bekannte sachen neue belege vorzubringen; er glaube, es hauptsächlich nur darauf an, den dialekt des denkmals selbst zu bestimmen, wofür natürlich die reime von der grössten wichtigkeit seien-scheint mir durchaus das richtige zu treffen. Zudem gibt ja das glossar über alle vorkommenden formen anschluss.

Wächter, echoing Kölbing's view for Roland and Vernagu (p. 34), adds that if we had all the forms, we could not tell which belonged to the scribe and which to the author.

The reason why Kölbing, with other scholars, overlooked the usefulness of exhaustive information, seems to have been that he had too mechanical a conception of the value of the establishing rhyme. He passed from the explicit statement that only establishing rhymes are evidence for dialect, to a practice implying that all establishing rhymes are evidence; whereas, of course, only rhymes at once establishing and authentic are evidence, and when we have a unique text, not autograph, by an anonymous author, we have no absolute proof as to what rhymes are authentic. For example, according to Kölbing's own theory, based on the evidence of inflections, the scribe of Sir Tristrem wrote S (pp. lxxii-lxxviii), and the poem itself is quite certainly N (pp. lxixlxxvii). Yet when there occurs in establishing rhyme a form typical of S rather than of N, Kölbing regularly, and of course rightly, tries to find evidence for its use in N, but he does not mention the possibility, a priori often a probability, of the form's being due to the scribe. He finds parallels, for example, in Ywain and Gawain and in Sir Percyvelle, for the few monosyllabic infinitives in -n; but these two romances occur in late unique MSS, and Kölbing does not mention here that -s forms occur also out of rhyme in Sir Tristrem (p. lxxiv). He says he fails to find in N any parallel to the single established infin. in -i, but does not mention in the same context that infinitives in -i occur within

the line (p. lxxvii). Again, when he lists inflectional forms in Sir Trietrem due to a S scribe, he gives only those within the line (pp. lxxvii fl), implying apparently that rhyme-forms are not scribal, though later (p. xci) he speaks of establishing rhymes as the only ones attributable certainly to the author. Here we need to remember that mediaeval scribes, not knowing that establishing rhymes would be so precious to modern investigators, did not feel there was any taboo against changing them, and that difficulty was probably their only deterrent. There is no proof that a did not sometimes change establishing rhyme-forms.

THE ORIENTAL IN RESTORATION DRAMA

LOUIS WANN

The phrase "Light from the East" possesses, by virtue of an accident of geography, a more unique significance for English literature than for any other important literature of modern nations. Every outside influence of importance has, necessarily and literally, come from the East, in contradistinction, for example, to the case of Russian literature. But we do not, of course, use the phrase in this broad sense. The two greatest cultural influences in the formation of English thought and literature through the centuries, that of Greek and Roman civilization conveyed by means of the Renaissance, and that of Hebrew civilization conveyed, for a longer period, by means of the Bible, are both, in a stricter sense than that just used, Oriental in provenance and nature. Yet we do not call the classics and the Bible Oriental. There is, then, a third important civilization or group of civilizations, which, though deprived of the stimulus of a Renaissance or the irresistible power of a Bible to aid it, nevertheless made its attraction felt fairly early in English literature, and for the past four hundred years has affected with increasing profoundness the literary expression, if not the life, of the English people. This third civilization we call that of the Orient.

Because of its important place in the history of the literature, the influence of the Orient deserves more study than we have hitherto given it. Except for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it has been neglected. And it is in the

¹Only two important contributions to the subject, and these in restricted fields, have been made: Conant, Martha Pike, The Oriental Tale in England in the 18th Century, 1908, and Meester, M. E. de, Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the 19th Contury, 1915. Compare the fuller treatments for French literature by Martino, Pierre, L'Orient dans la littérature française au sviie et au sviie siècle, 1906.

two centuries preceding these that the real beginnings of the influence may be seen and studied, with its gradual development toward the conception of the Orient that produced the eighteenth century tale, the Orient-fascinated poet of the Romantic movement, and finally the scientific Orientalist of the nineteenth century. The place of the Oriental in Restoration drama constitutes one chapter in this study of four centuries of influence, which, linked with a similar study of the Oriental in the Elizabethan drama² and the half-century preceding it, offers significant evidence of the manner in which the lure of the Orient fastened itself upon the English dramatist and the English citizen, and revealed itself in the productions of the stage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A consideration of the conception of the Oriental as a dramatis persona in Restoration drama may, then, profitably be entertained.

By way of clearness, we may first distinguish clearly the meaning of Orient and Oriental. Though these words convey to most minds a signification definite enough as opposed. broadly, to Occident and Occidental, they are yet capable of various interpretations when the question of exact delimitation is raised. What are the exact or approximate boundaries of the Orient, both in time and place (for it is a question both of chronology and geography)? Just what are the elements that go to form our picture of the Orient? In the broadest sense, an Oriental is one whose native habitat lies, without respect to time, within the following geographical area in the three continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia: In Europe, the Balkan States, Greece, and European Turkey; in Africa, all the lands bordering the southern shore of the Mediterranean, including the modern states of Morocco, Algeria. Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt; in Asia, practically the entire continent, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, including the Oceanic Archipelago.



² See my article, The Oriental in Elizabethan Drema, in Modern Philology XII: 423-447 of which this study is a continuation on the same general plan and to which rather frequent reference must be made in the present paper.

But this broad conception of the Orient, for us of the twentieth century, as well as for Englishmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is virtually a composite of three kindred conceptions of the Orient, corresponding to the three great influences above-mentioned. We may call these, for lack of better terms, the biblical Orient, the classical Orient, and the Orient proper. The distinction will be clear if we compare three specimens of the English drama, whose subject-matter is alike in being Oriental in the broadest sense, yet different in varying distinctly the connotation of the term. Peele's David and Bethsabe, Dryden's All for Love, and Davenant's Siege of Rhodes are all Oriental, insofar as their scene of action is concerned. Yet the first is biblical, the second is classical, and only the third is specifically and properly Oriental.

In addition to limitations of habitat, then, we shall have to fix limitations of time that will exclude the biblical and classical character. The clearest dividing line is the sixth century, which saw the rise of Mohammedanism with its attendant menace to Europe and the consequent focusing of attention on the Saracen, Moor, Tartar, Turk and other races of the Orient proper. The term Oriental, as here employed, then, designates anyone whose native habitat was in any of the parts of Europe, Africa, or Asia above described since the rise of Mohammedanism in the sixth century. Only those characters thus limited by time and place may truly be called Oriental.

With the limitations of the field thus fixed, we may proceed with three purposes in view: First, to present a corpus of Restoration plays whose dramatis personae contains at least one Oriental; second, to make an analysis of this body of plays on the basis of type, sources employed, scenes of action, nationalities represented, and customs depicted; and third, to form some conclusions regarding the accuracy and extent of the knowledge of Restoration Englishmen concerning the Orient, particularly as compared with the knowledge revealed by Elizabethan Englishmen.

With the above definition in mind, I have gathered together the following body of plays, arranged in chronological order, according to the most probable date of composition. The list includes information regarding the title, author, scene of action, and sources employed. The scene of action here given is merely the country. The sources given are the result of the consensus of best opinion. Exhaustive examination of all the sources for the purpose of verification has been obviously impossible. In some cases, however, to be noted later, I am largely responsible for the determination of the sources here indicated.

LIST OF PLAYS⁸

- 1. 1656. The Siege of Rhodes (Part I). Sir Wm. Davenant. H. Play (operatic). Rhodes. Sources: for historical matter, Knolles, Generall Historic of the Turkes, 1603, and Bosio's Istoria della sacra religione, etc., 1594; for romantic matter, doubtful.⁴
- *2. 1658. The Tragedy of the Unhappy Fair Irene. Gilbert Swinhoe. Trag. Turkey. Based on Knolles' Historie (?).
- 3. 1661. The Siege of Rhodes (Part II). Same as S. of R. (Part I).
- *4. 1664. Irena. Author unknown. Trag. Turkey (?)
 Source unknown.
- 5. 1665. Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent. Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery. H. Play. Hungary. Based on the episode of Mustapha et Zéangir in Mlle. de Scudéry's Ibrahim, ou L'Illustre Bassa, 1641 (possibly through H. Cogan's translation, 1652).

³I have had access to all but the six plays designated by an asteriak. Two of these, Howard's Conquest of China and Vienna Besieged, are non-extant, while Tamerlane the Beneficent exists in MS only. Copies of the remaining three are rare and difficult of access.

^{*}For the latest discussion of the sources of this play see J. W. Tupper's 'edition of Love and Honour and The Siege of Rhodes, 180-1.

- 6. 1668. The Great Favourite: or The Duke of Lerma, Sir Robert Howard. H. Play (?) Spain. Based on an old play called The Duke of Lerma, and, probably, contemporary historians.
- 7. 1670? The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards (Part I). John Dryden. H. Play. Spain. Based mainly on Mile. de Scudéry's Ibrahim (1641), Almahide (1660), and Le Grand Cyrus (1649-53), as well as La Calprenède's Cléopatre and one or two Spanish sources.
- 8. 1670? Same (Part II). Same as Part I.
- 9. c.1670. The Conquest of China by the Tartars. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. China. Source doubtful, probably some contemporary history.
- •10. c.1670. The Conquest of China by the Tartars. Sir Robert Howard. H. Play? China? Source unknown.
 - 11. c.1670. The Empress of Morocco. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. Morocco. Based on material communicated by the Earl of Norwich.
 - 12. 1671. Mamamouchi; or, the Citizen turn'd Gentleman. Edward Ravenscroft. Com. England. Taken from Molière's M. de Pourceaugnac (1669) and Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670).
 - 13. 1671. Abdelazar; or, the Moor's Revenge. Mrs. Aphra Behn. Trag. Spain. Alteration of Lust's Dominion (ptd. 1657).
- 14. 1672. The Gentleman Dancing Master. Wm. Wycherley. Com. England. Influenced by Calderon's El Maestro de Danzar (date?), and Molière's L'Ecole des Maris (1661).

^{*}See Howard's statement to this effect, apparently overlooked heretofore, in his preface "To the Reader."

⁶See Dryden's letter to his sons at Rome (Saintsbury's ed. of Dryden, XVIII: 133), in which he indicates his intention of altering Howard's play for stage presentation.

See Settle's dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Norwich.

- 15. 1672. Amboyna. John Dryden. Trag. Molucca Islands. Main plot founded on history; the rape of Ysabinda from Cinthio's Gli Hecatommithi (1565).
- 16. 1674. The Empress of Morocco. Thomas Duffet.
 Farce. Morocco. A burlesque of Settle's play
 (see above).
- 17. 1674. Love and Revenge. Elkanah Settle. Trag. France. A material alteration of Wm. Heminge's The Fatal Contract (ptd. 1653).
- 18. 1675. Aurengzebe. John Dryden. H. Play. India. Based mainly on The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol, etc. By François Bernier. First Eng. ed. 1671; one scene from Scudéry's Le Grand Cyrus.
- 19. 1675. The Siege of Constantinople. Nevil Payne? Trag. Turkey. Sources: for historical matter, doubtful, possibly Knolles' Historie or Peter Heylin's Cosmography (1622); for contemporary allusions, the political situation in England.
- 20. 1676. Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa. Elkanah Settle. H. Play. Turkey. Based on Mile. de Scudéry's Ibrahim (1641), possibly through Cogan's translation (1652, 1674) or George de Scudéry's play of the same name (1642).
- The Conspiracy: or, the Change of Government.
 W. Whitaker. H. Play. Turkey. Source unknown.
- 22. 1681. Tamerlane the Great. Chas. Saunders. Trag.? Tartary. Based on a novel called Tamerlane and Asteria (date?).
- 23. 1682. The Heir of Morocco, with the Death of Gayland. Elkanah Settle. Trag. Algeria. Source doubtful, probably the same as for The Empress of Morocco.

^{*} See Saunders' preface to the play.

- 24. 1682. Venice Preserved. Thomas Otway. Trag. Italy. Based on Saint-Réal's historical novel, La Conjuration des Espagnols contre la Venise en 1618 (1674).
- 25. 1682. The False Count. Mrs. Aphra Behn. Farce. Spain. From Molière's Les Précieuses Ridicules (1659) and Les Fourberies de Scapin (1671).
- 26. 1682. The Loyal Brother, or the Persian Prince.
 Thomas Southern. Trag.? Persia. Based on
 a novel called Tachmas, Prince of Persia, trans.
 from French by P. Porter (1676).
- 27. 1686. The Sacrifice. Sir Francis Fane. H. Play. China. Source unknown, possibly Knolles' Historie or a similar historical work.
- 28. 1687. The Island Princess. Nahum Tate. Tragicom. Molucca Islands. Alteration of Fletcher's Island Princess (ptd. 1647, 1679).
- *29. before 1688. Vienna Besieged.* Author unknown.

 Droll. Austria? Source unknown, probably contemporary accounts.
 - 30. 1689. Don Sebastian. John Dryden. Trag. Morocco. Source doubtful; mostly of Dryden's invention.
- 31. c.1690. The Abdicated Prince: or, The Adventures of Four Years. Anon. Tragicom. (allegorical). "Hungaria Nova." An Oriental allegory of contemporary English history.
- •32. 1692. Tamerlane the Beneficent. Wm. Popple? Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.
- 33. 1692. The Fairy-Queen. Elkanah Settle? Opera. Varied scene. Alteration of Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream.
- *34. 1694. The Ambitious Slave; or, a Generous Revenge. Elkanah Settle. Trag. Varied scene in Orient. Source unknown.
- 35. 1696. The Royal Mischief. Mrs. De la Riviere Manley. Trag. Georgia (in the Caucasus). Based

^{*} See Hazlitt's Manual for the Collector...of Old English Plays, 246.

- on The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia, etc., 1686.
- 36. 1696. Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor of the Turks. Mrs. Mary Pix. Trag. Turkey. Based on Sir Paul Rycaut's The History of the Turkish Empire, from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677, etc. 1687.
- 37. 1697. The Mourning Bride. Wm. Congreve. Trag. Spain. Source unknown.
- 38. 1698. Beauty in Distress. Peter A. Motteux. Trag. Portugal. Source unknown.
- The Island Princess. Peter A. Motteux. Opera. Molucca Islands. Altered from Tate's Island Princess.
- 40. 1702. Tamerlane. Nicholas Rowe. Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.
- 41. 1703. The Governor of Cyprus. John Oldmixon.

 Trag. Cyprus. From a novel called The Governour of Cyprus, or The Loves of Virotto and Dorothea (date?)
- 42. 1704. The Conquest of Spain. Mrs. Mary Pix. Trag. Spain. Based on Wm. Rowley's All's Lost by Lust, 1633.
- 43. 1704. Abra-mule; or, Love and Empire. Joseph Trapp. H. Play. Turkey. Source unknown.
- 44. 1706. Almyna, or The Arabian Vow. Mrs. Manley?

 Trag. Arabia. Founded on some "Life" of
 Caliph Valid Almanzor, and the beginning of
 The Arabian Nights Entertainments.
- 45. before 1708. Irene, or The Fair Greek. Chas. Goring. Trag. Turkey. Source unknown.

We have here a body of forty-five Restoration plays introducing Orientals into the dramatis personae, as compared with a similar number in the Elizabethan period. Of these forty-five, only two are non-extant, Vienna Besieged and Howard's Conquest of China, as compared with thirteen non-extant plays in the earlier period. The time covered by

³⁶There are 47 in my published list. But I have since added several plays, in most of which, however, the Oriental element is slight.

this group is 52 years, from 1656 (the date of *The Siege of Rhodes*, the first Oriental play since the closing of the theatres in 1642) to 1708, by which time the dominance of Restoration ideals may be said practically to have ceased. A merely external comparison of the Restoration and Elizabethan groups of plays reveals several interesting likenesses and differences. In the first place, it is obvious that the vogue of the Orient was a more continuous and lively one in Restoration drama than in the preceding era. The noticeable gaps between the four successive groups of Elizabethan plays¹¹ find no parallels in the later period. Yet, although the plays follow one another much more regularly, they fall likewise into four fairly distinct groups, as follows:

I.	1656—1668	12 years	6 plays
II.	1670—1676	6 years	14 plays
III.	1680—1699	19 years	19 plays
IV.	1702-1708	6 years	6 plays

It is clear that, so far as numbers go, groups II and III are the main centers of interest—a body of thirty-three plays in about thirty years. It is interesting, moreover, to note that group II synchronizes in the main with the period of the heroic play and that seven heroic plays are here found, whereas in group III ten of the nineteen plays are tragedies, an evidence of the changing emphasis upon type between 1675 and 1680. Groups II and III are, then, the heroic play and tragedy groups respectively. Groups I and II are not without their distinctive importance, however, since, when the plays are considered from the point of view of their wholly Oriental character, these two groups show a far larger number of plays entirely Oriental (five in group I and all in group II) than the two middle groups.

Not merely in comparative numbers, however, does Restoration drama reveal greater interest in the Orient than does Elizabethan drama. Considerable as were the number and

[&]quot;See the article above indicated, Mod. PMS. XII: 426. Succeeding references are to following parts of the same article.

range of authors represented in the earlier period, their number and range are even more considerable in the later period. The appeal of the Orient to Restoration dramatists was far wider, attracting every important writer of heroic and tragic plays in the whole period with the single exception of Lee. Comedy, as was noticeably true of the earlier period, is scantily represented, being inherently little adapted to the treatment of Oriental matter. Dryden, Davenant, Otway, Rowe, Wycherley, and Congreve are all present, as well as less important but well-known figures like Boyle, Howard, Settle, Southern, Ravenscroft, Fane, Tate, Motteux, Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Pix. and Mrs. Manley, not to mention the distinctly minor dramatists. The figures lacking are, aside from Lee, all comedy writers-Etherege, D'Urfey, Farquhar, Shadwell, Vanbrugh. Not merely this range of representation, however, is significant. The fact that Dryden contributed five plays, Settle seven, and several others two each indicates that the Orient was made use of in more than a merely casual manner—that it had, in a word, a distinct place, more so than in Elizabethan drama, in the business of play production.

In turning to the more detailed analysis of individual plays, we may first consider briefly the matter of dramatic types. The following summary indicates the types found, with their relative frequency:

TYPES OF PLAYS

Heroic plays	12
Heroic plays (operatic)	
Tragedies	22
Tragi-comedies	
Comedies	2
Operas	2
Farces	2
Drolls	

45

As in the case of Elizabethan drama, the serious plays constitute the great majority, only seven being of a lighter nature. The Elizabethan conqueror play has given way to the heroic play, and the plays of travel and adventure, at best a temporary outburst of a decade or so, do not appear at all. opera, farce, and droll are new forms, though of little importance. The primary interest, of course, centers in the heroic plays and tragedies, especially the former. Of the 36 plays of these two types, three are difficult to classify. Duke of Lerma, though included by Dr. Chase¹² in his list of heroic plays, is described by Langbaine18 and Ristine16 as a tragi-comedy, and it would seem difficult, in view of its blank verse medium and Howard's opposition to rhymed verse, to square it with Dr. Chase's definition of the heroic play. In like manner, Tamerlane the Great and The Loyal Brother, though in blank verse, are as clearly of the heroic type as The Duke of Lerma.15 Both tone and medium are. perhaps, distinct enough in the heroic play type in general, but it would seem that tone should be considered of first importance as a criterion. Two heroic plays not considered by Dr. Chase (aside from the two doubtful plays just mentioned) are Howard's non-extant Conquest of China and Trapp's Abra-mule. Altogether, the prominence of the heroic play in our list is the most significant feature of this study of types, since not only do we find seven successive examples between 1665 and 1670, but these include such prominent landmarks as Dryden's Conquest of Granada, Settle's Empress of Morocco and Conquest of China, and Boyle's Mustapha. And it is the exaggerated prominence of this type, casting its influence over tragedy as well, that gave that false color, or rather colorlessness, to the Oriental characters of the dramatis personae which made no distinction between

² Chase, L. N., The English Heroic Play, 238.

¹² Langbaine, G., An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, 276.

¹⁴ Ristine, F. H., English Tragicomedy, 214.

¹⁵ The use of the term "tragedy" on the title-page is of no significance. Settle's *Empress of Morocco* and *Conquest of China* are entitled "tragedies," as are genuine tragedies like *Ibrahim the 15th, The Royal Mischief, Almyna*, etc.

Turk, Moor, or Tartar and endowed the hero of any race with the qualities of an Almanzor. Tragedy suffered less distortion of truth, but it should be borne in mind that the artificialities of the heroic type thrust forward a view of the Oriental which was without doubt far from the genuine conception held of him by Restoration Englishmen.

A second aspect in which this body of plays may be considered. one of greater significance than that just touched upon, concerns the sources from which these individual plays were derived. It should be remarked at the outset that, as regards the fundamental character of sources available during the Restoration period, conditions were not materially different from those that prevailed fifty years previous. It is true that from the point of view of mere quantity of sources the Restoration dramatist had a great advantage over his Elizabethan predecessor, though Von Hammer's list of over 1600 works dealing with the Orient printed between 1500 and 1640 shows what a wealth of material was accessible even to the Elizabethan dramatist.16 Travel to the Orient had increased considerably, diplomatic and commercial relations were becoming much more intimate, the French romance writers of the school of Mile. de Scudéry were turning out ponderous volumes of an entirely new genre, and it is certainly true that European contact with all parts of the East was in general much closer than during the early years of the century. In spite of all this, however, the fundamental character of these accounts, particularly the romances, remained about the same—that is, the sense of historical accuracy, the ability and the willingness to distinguish legend from fact. were still undeveloped. In one important field, progress had been made. The accounts of travelers, consuls, and diplomatic officials, who had seen things at first hand, were more numerous and more accurate than heretofore. But, as we shall see later, these accounts were little drawn upon, compared with the older histories and highly-colored romances. While works on the Orient, then, were much more numerous, their character



³⁶ Von Hammer, Joseph, Geschichte der osmanischen Reiches (Pest, 1827), Vol. X.

was on the whole not such as to lead us to expect appreciably more accurate portrayals of Oriental history, life, and character. With these considerations in mind, we may examine the various classes of sources used, as represented in the following table, with the number of instances in which each class was drawn upon:

Sources Employed

I.	History and travel (including contem-	
	porary accounts)	20
II.	French dramas and romances	10
III.	English plays	8
IV.	Novels	6
V.	Miscellaneous	4
VI	Unknown	12

As will be seen, we know the sources, at least in part, for all but twelve plays. As in the case of Elizabethan drama, the historical works were drawn upon most heavily. Historics, novels, and English plays were more numerous as sources than in the earlier period. The miscellaneous sources are in both cases unimportant. The most striking difference is, of course, the introduction of an entirely new class of material—French drama and romance, which in quantity and influence were second in importance only to history. As the heroic play was the most significant type, so French literature was the most significant influence, when the two periods are compared.

First in importance are the historical and descriptive works. Knolles' Generall Historie was probably used in at least five plays, Bosio's Istoria in two, and Rycaut's "Continuation", Chardin's Travels into Persia, and Bernier's history of the Mogul Empire each once. It is, of course, possible that Knolles and Rycaut were used much more than we are certainly aware of, but our certain knowledge shows that, as in the case of Elizabethan drama, Knolles for one has been overestimated as a single source, and we should expect much more use of the contemporary Rycaut. Of perhaps greatest inter-

est is the employment by Dryden in Aurengzebe of Francois Bernier's The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogol, etc. (first English ed. 1671). So far as I am aware, the certain use of this work has not hitherto been remarked by historians of the Restoration drama. Tavernier and Bernier have both been cited as possible sources. but it has apparently escaped the attention of Dryden scholars that Archibald Constable, the recent editor of Bernier's work. after a careful comparison of the two works, concludes that "Bernier's entire work formed the leit motif, nay a good deal more than that, of Dryden's drama." In support of this statement he prints several illustrative passages with strikingly apt comparisons to portions of Bernier's work.18 Another interesting case is that of Mrs. Pix's use of Rycaut's history of the Turkish Empire (1687) in her Ibrahim. My comparison of the two works shows clearly how she used the brief story of Ibrahim's last days (pp. 76-79 in Rycaut) as the basis of her play, giving names to the nameless characters, transferring the dagger episode from the old widow to the young and unfortunate victim of the sultan's passion, and in other really skilful ways heightening the color legitimately to enhance the dramatic interest. The remaining historical sources not yet mentioned include unascertained histories and contemporary accounts for seven plays (including the monstrous political allegory of The Abdicated Prince) and either verbal or written communication from the Earl of Norwich, ambassador to Morocco, as the basis of Settle's Empress of Morocco and probably also his Heir of Morocco.

Next in importance and probably of greater interest is the class of French drama and romance, a new influence in English drama dealing with the Orient. Molière, Mile. de Scudéry, and La Calprenède constitute the sources. Five plays of Molière were used, Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, L'École des Maris, Les Précieuses Ridi-

[&]quot;Travels in the Mogul Empire, A. D. 1656-1668. By Francois Bernier—By Archibald Constable—Westminster—MDCCCXCI, page 466.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 465-9, Appendix I, "Regarding Dryden's Tragedy of Aurengaebe".

cules, and Les Fourberies de Scapin. Of these the most interesting is the case of Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, whose famous Turkish scenes furnished the plagiarist Ravenscroft with not merely the material but the title of his Mamamouchi. Three of the romances of Mlle. de Scudéry, Ibrahim, Almahide, and Le Grand Cyrus, furnished material for the whole or parts of five plays, all of them important, the most outstanding being Dryden's Conquest of Granada, indebted to all three romances, as well as to other sources. La Calprenède's Cléopatre was influential in this last play and nowhere else. 19

The remaining sources may be dismissed with a word or Eight different English plays, mostly from the Elizabethan period, were the basis of eight Restoration plays. The cases deserving particular mention are Settle's alteration of Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream into his The Fairy Queen, introducing Chinese characters; Duffet's burlesque of Settle's Empress of Morocco, which did much to cast ridicule on the heroic play; and the two versions of Fletcher's Island Princess by Tate and Motteux, a tragicomedy and an opera seizing upon a far-away milieu as apt material for scenic effects and heroic atmosphere. Six plays were based on novels, three of them now forgotten English stories. Finally, four plays were drawn from miscellaneous material, including a play of Calderon's, whose isolation in this regard stands as striking testimony to the unexpectedly small influence which Spanish literature exerted on the production of Restoration plays on the Orient.

One final word should be said regarding the accuracy with which these sources were used. The general character of the sources has already been pointed out. But the vogue of the heroic play and its unquestionable influence upon other types of drama were powerful forces in the direction of the further distortion of truth. What Dryden does in elevating the

¹⁹ For further discussion of French influence on Restoration drama, see, among others, Upham, A. H., The French Influence in English Littau XVII^o siècle (1906), and Miles, D. H., The Influence of Molière on Restorature, (1908), Charlanne, Louis, L'Influence française en Angleterre toration Comedy (1910), and Hill, H. W., La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama (Univ. of Chicago thesis, no date).

character of Aurengzebe in conformity with the demands of the heroic play, is done by practically all dramatists who deal with Oriental characters. The aim was not truth but effect. And this charge cannot be laid against the Elizabethans. Their sources were inaccurate, but they used them, on the whole, with care. The Restoration dramatist, in his passion for scenic grandeur and heroic atmosphere, voluntarily and needlessly misread his sources and gave us pictures of the Oriental that, as regards character, are either colorless, sensational, or violently untrue.

So far, in our discussion of types and sources, we have touched upon the more or less external aspects and relations of these Oriental plays. We now come to those internal aspects which have more to do with their real nature and spirit, namely, the scenes of action in which they are laid, the nationalities which they present upon the stage, and the customs and life of the Oriental which they depict. A brief discussion of these three aspects, with the most salient illustrations of each, will suffice to make clear the essential truth about the nature of the Oriental as represented on the Restoration stage.

Of perhaps less intrinsic importance yet of considerable significance, especially as compared with Elizabethan drama, is a survey of the scenes of action to be found in these plays, as indicated in the following summary showing the number of plays laid in each country:

Scenes of Action		
A. Turkey, in	10	plays
B. Spain	7	"
C. China, Morocco, and the Molucce	18,	
each 3	9	"
D. Rhodes, England, and varied, each	2_ 6	"
E. Algeria, Arabia, Cyprus, Persi	ia,	
Georgia, India, Tartary, "Hu	n-	
garia Nova'', Portugal, Hungar	y,	
Austria, France, and Italy, ea	ch	
one	13	"
	_	

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As compared with the Elizabethan group, the difference is striking. Whereas in the earlier period only eleven different countries are represented, there are here twenty-two countries, indicating obviously a much wider range of scene. an intenser search for new and strange localities. The Elizabethan scenes are, with the exception of Persia, Tartary, and Arabia, confined to the shores of the Mediterranean, whereas the Restoration plays cover not merely the whole territory previously seized upon but most of Asia. China, India, and Georgia, as well as the European Hungary, Austria, and Portugal, are new scenes. Turkey seems to have lost some of its hold, being the scene of fewer plays than before, though it still remains the favorite setting. Spain has more attention, as being the center of the struggles between the Moors and the Spaniards represented in such plays as The Conquest of Granada and The Conquest of Spain. The most curious setting is the "Hungaria Nova" of The Abdicated Prince, the scurrilous political allegory which, under a very thin masquing of Englishmen as Hungarians, Turks, and Bulgarians, depicts the corruption of the court and the downfall of the recently deposed James II. Two other plays whose setting had contemporary political significance are Dryden's Amboyna and Whitaker's Conspiracy, the former designed to support the Dutch War, the latter containing a satire on Lord Shaftesbury. In two plays, The Ambitious Slave and The Fairy Queen, the scene is varied, with no particular significance except as the latter shows Settle's craving for the scenic effects which, to his mind, Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream would not offer in its original form. The main significance of the aspect of milieu, then, is the great range of scene exhibited in the Restoration group.

Much more important, of course, is the consideration of the nationalities represented on the stage, both as regards the centers of greatest interest and the manner in which the various races are delineated. The following table shows the frequency with which each race figures in the plays we are considering:

ORIENTAL RACES REPRESENTED

A.	Turks, in	21	plays
В.	Moors	18	"
C.	Tartars	7	44
D.	Greeks	7	"
$\mathbf{E}.$	Hindus	5	"
F.	Chinese	4	"
G.	Persians and Moluccans, each	3	"
H.	Algerians, Arabs, Scythians, and		
	Georgians, each	1	"

The interesting feature of this summary is the introduction of three races hitherto untreated in English drama—the Hindus, Chinese, and Georgians. There are fewer plays with Turks, Persians, and Arabs than in Elizabethan drama, though the Turks still retain their place as the greatest center of interest. The Moors find place in exactly the same number of plays as before, but the Tartars are of somewhat greater attraction. There are eight plays whose dramatis personae is made up entirely or practically of one race: the two plays entitled The Empress of Morocco present Moors only, The Loyal Brother Persians only, The Conspiracy and Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor. Turks, The Royal Mischief Georgians, and Aurengzebe Hindus. In the plays portraying the contact, usually the struggle, of merely two nations, the combinations most frequently met are Moors and Spaniards, Turks and Greeks, Turks and Tartars, and Tartars and Chinese.

What, now, can be said regarding the manner of portrayal of these individual races, particularly as regards truth to life? When viewed from this point of view we are bound to admit that Restoration drama falls far short of Elizabethan drama, for with comparatively few exceptions the presentation may be described as either "heroic" and consequently inaccurate, or simply colorless. All Oriental races seem to suffer almost equally in this regard, whereas in Elizabethan drama there is a very fair approach to accuracy in the presentation of at least the Moors and Turks, though the other races are not distinguished with any care. The increased accuracy of char-

acter portrayal which one would expect with increased knowledge of the Orient during the Restoration period is not forthcoming. For what reason? Here again the charge must be laid at the doors of heroic drama, a species which inevitably distorted true character to gain stage effect; and since the heroic play cast its blight over tragedy as well, the resulting deterioration was almost universal. The best examples of this heroic distortion of character are to be seen in the exalted characters of the Turkish Solyman in The Siege of Rhodes, the Tartar Zungteus in The Conquest of China, the Hindu Aurengzebe in Dryden's play, and the Moorish Almanzor in The Conquest of Granada: and, on the other side. the debased characters of Laula in The Empress of Morocco and Kiosem in The Conspiracy. The extravagance, the superhuman physical prowess, and the unexpected nobility of Dryden's Almanzor may be taken as typical of the "heroic" elevation of character above its actual plane.20 whereas the debasement of the actual character may be typified by the sensual, murderous, and brazenly defiant Laula, the Empress of Morocco, who, when asked if she fears not eternal punishment for her crimes, cries:

Hell! No, of that I scorn to be afraid:
I'll send such things to the Infernal Shade;
Betray and Kill, and Damn to such degree,
I'll crowd up Hell, till there's no Room for Me.

The ridicule which *The Rehearsal* poured upon the heroic play was well deserved, and Duffet's burlesque of *The Empress of Morocco*, though coarse and cheap in itself, helped to achieve the purpose expressed in the epilogue to his farce:

Since with Success great Bards grow proud and resty, To get good Plays be kind to bad Travesty.

Of purely colorless portrayal examples are numerous. From *The Siege of Rhodes*, which, as Schelling says, "lays no claim to plot, characterization, or variety save such as arises

The Empress of Morocco, ed. of 1687, p. 21.



²⁶ For a full discussion of Almanzor as the typical hero of the heroic play, see Chase, L. N., The English Heroic Play, 55-65.

from change of scene, appropriate costume, and attendant music."22 clear through Goring's Irene, we are constantly struck by the lack of any distinction, in most plays, between Chinese and Tartars, Turks and Greeks, and even Moors and Christians.²⁸ Dryden's Ysabinda in Ambouna has hardly a touch of distinction; and the Moors in Love and Revenge, The Mourning Bride, and The Conquest of Spain, the Turks in Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa and Abra-mule, the Chinese in The Fairy-Queen and The Conquest of China, the Greek courtezan in Venice Preserved, and the Arabs in Almuna differ almost solely in being set down amidst different surroundings. In at least six plays24 the Moors are still confused with negroes, as in Elizabethan drama, the most striking proof being found in the interesting full-page portrait of the perfectly black Empress of Morocco serving as frontispiece to Duffet's farce. Inaccuracy of portrayal is, however, most significantly represented in the three plays presenting Tamerlane and Bajazet, namely, Saunders' Tamerlane the Great, Fane's Sacrifice, and Rowe's Tamerlane. In all three Tamerlane is made noble and generous, free from even religious prejudice, whereas Bajazet is the incarnation of impetuosity, cruelty, and rage, beating out his brains, in harmony with the still persisting legend, against the bars of his iron cage.

A few plays, however, redeem somewhat the reputation of the group as a whole for character portrayal. Roxolana in *Mustapha* and Almahide in *The Conquest of Granada* are dignified women, and Constable points out that Dryden's conception of Nourmahal in *Aurengzebe*, being in perfect keeping with the facts as narrated by Bernier, does not deserve the criticism it has received as being unworthy of him. The presentation of the disguised Turks in *The False Count* shows a fair knowledge of the people and their customs, as do



[&]quot;The Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit., VIII: 134.

²² Cf. Tate's *Island Princess*, in which two or three Moors utter Christian sentiments of pity wholly out of character.

²² The Duke of Lerma, The Conquest of China, The Gentleman Dancing Master, The Empress of Morocco, Beauty in Distress, and Love and Revenge.

Ibrahim, the 13th Emperor, The Governor of Cyprus, The Loyal Brother, and Abdelazar, and particularly The Royal Mischief, whose sensuality and incest find support in the source of the play, Chardin's Travels into Persia. The Loyal Brother and Abdelazar are of further interest as containing parallels to two Shakespearean characters. Ismael in the former is a miniature Iago, whereas Abdelazar in the latter, particularly in his speech on Moors, reminds one of Othello. It will be noted, however, that only three of these plays are heroic, all but one of the others being tragedies; moreover, the most natural characters in these three heroic plays are not the major characters, upon whom the "heroic" portrayal was most lavishly spent.

It is fair to conclude, then, that with the exception of eight or ten plays, mostly tragedies, Restoration drama falls short of Elizabethan drama in the portrayal of Oriental character, and that the cause of the defect must be sought in the artificial elevation and debasement of character inaugurated by the heroic play.

Quite the reverse are the results of a consideration of the last aspect to be discussed—the depiction of the life and customs of the Oriental. If the interest in character distinction was slight, the inclination was very strong in the direction of careful presentation of Oriental settings, the realistic introduction of customs, rites, and observances that would lend "atmosphere" to the play, references to the religious practices of the race involved, and other devices tending to visualize the difference between the milieu of, say, a comedy of commonplace English manners and that of a tragedy of the faraway life of Turkey or Morocco. Three possible reasons may be found for this emphasis upon the more scenic aspects of the plays. There was first, of course, the general tendency toward the elaboration of scene that, beginning with Davenant's Siege of Rhodes, operated throughout the Restoration period. In the second place, there was again the special influence of the heroic play, depending for its success largely upon variety and novelty of scene, qualities shared also by the opera. Lastly, there was the increased acquaintanceship with the Orient, obtained partly through histories, but more through the accounts of contemporary travelers and diplomatic officials, and, most particularly, through the stimulating romances of the school of Mlle. de Scudéry, which came near creating a veritable vogue for interest in the Orient. It is a far cry, indeed, from the comparatively scanty portrayal of Oriental atmosphere found in Elizabethan drama to the abundant, vivid, and detailed presentation (often too detailed) of at least the outstanding customs and practices found in the Restoration plays.

The Siege of Rhodes, significantly enough, marks the beginning not merely of Restoration drama as a whole but of the new attitude toward the matter of the Orient, the seizing of the great opportunity for scenic effects that lay in the still little known, far-away lands of the East. The variety and life of these scenes laid in Rhodes are repeated again and again through the period, necessitating abundant stage directions and long descriptions of the settings at the openings of the numerous and frequently shifted scenes. It was Settle, of course, who contributed most to the stage machinery of the period, and his seven Oriental plays are illustrative of these full stage directions.25 Great care is taken to depict the seraglio vividly, to present adequately the gorgeous rooms of Oriental monarchs, and to picture the attractive groves, gardens, and palm-lined walks as the appropriate surroundings of the characters.26 Not merely in material setting, however, is unusual interest evinced. The constant introduction of mutes, with the ever-present bow-strings and bowls of poison, the eunuchs coming and going, and the Mohammedan priests quoting the Koran²⁷ is evidence both of a genuine knowledge of these details and an ability to turn them to account on the stage. To be sure, the tendency led to exaggeration, and in many plays it results in sheer sensationalism and extrava-

^{*}See particularly The Empress of Morocco and The Fairy-Queen.

*For illustration of these details see, especially, Abra-mule, The Conquest of China, The Empress of Morocco, Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa,

The Pairy-Queen, and Motteux's Island Princess.

In Ci Mustapha, The Loyal Brother, Ibrahim, the 18th Emepror, Abramule, The False Count, etc.

gance, making the play more like a kaleidoscope than a drama of normal human beings. The horrible "black room" scene in The Conspiracy, the "mummy" scene in Sacrifice, the scene in The Royal Mischief in which Osman is shot off in a cannon, and the scene of Bajazet beating out his brains in Tamerlane and Sacrifice are examples of this exaggeration. Suicide of Mohammedans, moreover, is even more prevalent than in Elizabethan drama, revealing the same ignorance of a fundamental religious belief that characterizes the earlier period. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the Restoration dramatist knew much more than did his predecessor about the life, customs, beliefs, and characteristic surroundings of the Oriental, and that he chose to exhibit this knowledge in strikingly vivid and concrete ways, even to the point of abusing his opportunity.

What now are the conclusions to be derived from this consideration of the Oriental on the Restoration stage? first place, we have seen that the very considerable number of plays and their wide distribution among the dramatists of the period, including practically all of the prominent playwrights except some writers of comedy, indicate a greater and broader interest in the Orient than has hitherto obtained. As in the case of Elizabethan drama this interest inclined to the production of serious plays, with the introduction of the new and important class of heroic plays. The sources drawn upon were, as in the earlier period, mostly histories, but a new source, that of French drama and romance. was only second in importance and perhaps greater in significance. Accuracy in the employment of sources, however, is less evident than in the earlier period, particularly as regards character portraval. The range of scene presented is very much wider than heretofore, and the nationalities portrayed are of greater variety—the whole of the continent of Asia being drawn upon for setting and character. Turkey and the Turks are still predominant, but the Chinese, the Hindus, and others come in for their share of interest, and the lands of the

^{*}See, for a discussion of this matter, Mod. Phil., XII: 443.

Mediterranean give way to the farther countries of Asia proper. In one important particular, the accurate portrayal of character, the Restoration falls short of the Elizabethan period, with the heroic drama largely to blame for this defect. In the portrayal of customs, however, the Restoration drama is superior, showing more knowledge and more inclination to exhibit it. Combining these conclusions, we may say that so far as external matters were concerned, matters of scene, rites, observances, etc., the Restoration period shows an advance towards a more intimate knowledge of the Orient, but that as regards the fundamental character of the Oriental himself, though Restoration Englishmen may have known more than their predecessors, they at least did not choose to reveal this knowledge in their plays. For this distinction it is not too much to say that the influence of the heroic play. emphasizing the external at the expense of the internal, was at least largely to blame.

A HISTORY OF COSTUMING ON THE ENGLISH STAGE BETWEEN 1660 AND 1823

LILY B. CAMPBELL

The principles of modern stage costume were determined when the 1823 performance of King John under Kemble's management and Planché's immediate direction gained such popularity as to necessitate its reforms being made general. Between the time of the return of the actors after the Restoration and the time of this performance the stage had changed a disordered and unconsidered presentation of plays to a welldefined production on the basis of recognized artistic laws. The Romantic Movement had been manifest in the matters of stage costume just as in every other aspect of the life and art of the time; and though the epochs marking the progress of changes in theatrical costume are less definitely separated than are those which outline the progress of other expressions of Romanticism on the stage, yet stage costume did advance towards the artistic goal set by the Romantic Movement and was consciously determined by the philosophic principles as well as by the popular interests that controlled the course of the whole movement. That these Romantic theories and interests are evident in matters of stage costume even when they produced mere incongruities and inconsistencies in their early manifestation, I hope to show in this paper.

With the reopening of the theatres after the Restoration there came a time, as was to be expected, of rather chaotic management. It is not surprising, then, that the costuming of the plays presented was at first for the most part a matter of chance or accident and was generally unhampered by theories of correctness or appropriateness. The records of the time, indeed, seem to indicate that the costumes for a theatrical performance were managed much as are the cos-

tumes for charades in the average household today. The property-box was a sort of attic, under the control of the property manager, and each actor took what he liked or wished, choosing any costume which he thought suited to himself or to the character he was about to present. The leading actresses were, perchance, given enough salary to afford to own a few good dresses for acting, but these dresses were worn for various characters. In general, such a state of affairs continued far into the eighteenth century, though modifications leading to a final establishing of order gradually crept in.

That costumes and scenery were, however, not altogether unconsidered even in the years immediately following the Restoration is evidenced in Downes's Roscius Anglicanus. For the years 1662-1665 are chronicled:

The Adventure of five Hours, Wrote by the Earl of Bristol, and Sir Samuel Tuke: This Play being Cloath'd so Excellently Fine in proper Habits, and Acted so justly well.

King Henry the 8th, This Play, by Order of Sir William Davenant, was all new Cloath'd in proper Habits: The King's was new, all the Lords, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the Doctors, Proctors, Lawyers, Tip-staves, new Scenes: Every Part by the great Care of Sir William, being exactly perform'd; it being all new Cloath'd and new Scenes; it continued acting 15 days together with general Applause.

Mustapha . . . All the Parts being new Cloath'd with new Scenes.

For the years 1670 and 1671 we find chronicled likewise:

The Tragedy of Macbeth, alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all its Finery, as new Cloath'd, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it:



¹That the property manager was sometimes guilty of partiality is evident in the account of the rivalry of Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Boutel and of their common desire for a certain veil which the property man awarded to Mrs. Boutel. In the ensuing quarrel Mrs. Boutel was wounded by her enraged rival. See Betterton, *History of the Baglish Stage*, pp. 20–22

²Rosoius Angliosnus. A facsimile reprint of the rare original of 1708, London, J. M. Jarvis and Son, 1886, p. 22.

^{*} Ibid., 24.

^{&#}x27; Ibid., 25, 26.

the first Compos'd by Mr. Lock, the other by Mr. Channel and Mr. Joseph Priest; it being all Excellently perform'd, being in the nature of an Opera, it recompene'd double the Expence, it proves still a lasting Play.

From scattered accounts it is to be seen, also, that one post-Restoration custom was generally accepted—the giving or lending of garments or equipment to the actors by their patrons. Downes records of the years 1662-1665:

King Henry the 5th, Wrote by the Earl of Orrery. This Play was Splendidly Cloath'd: The King in the Duke of York's Coronation Suit: Owen Tudor in King Charles's: Duke of Burgundy, in the Lord of Oxford's, and the rest all New.

We find recorded also:

The Play called Love and Honour, written by Sir William D'Avenant, was Acted before the Court, and very richly Drest. The King gave Mr. Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, his coronation Suit, And to Mr. Harris, who played Prince Prospero, the Duke of York gave his Suit. And to Mr. Price who acted Lionel, Duke of Parman, the Lord Oxford gave his Cloathes.'

Another instance frequently noted is that when the players (of the Duke's company) were commanded by the King to Dover when he met his sister, the Duchess of Orleans. The actors played Shadwell's *The Impertinents* or *Sullen Lovers*. Downes says:

This Comedy and Sir Solomon Single, pleas'd Madam the Duchess, and the whole Court extremely, the French Court wearing then Excessive short Lac'd Coats; some Scarlet, some Blew, with Broad Wast Belts; Mr. Nokes having at that time one shorter than the French Fashion, to Act Sir Arthur Addle in; the Duke of Monmouth gave Mr. Nokes his Sword and Belt from his Side, and Buckled it on himself, on purpose to Ape the French: That Mr. Nokes lookt more like a Drest up Ape, than a Sir Arthur: which upon his first entrance on the Stage, put the King and Court to an Excessive Laughter; at which the French look'd very Shaygrin, to



^{*} Ibid., 33.

^{*} Ibid., 27, 28.

¹ Betterton, Thomas, The History of the English Stage from the Restoration to the Present Time (London, 1741), p. 91. Also recorded by Downes, l. c., pp. 21, 22.

see themselves Ap'd by such a Buffoon as Sir Arthur: Mr. Nokes Kept the Duke's Sword to his Dying Day.

Chetwood gives explicit information concerning this custom and one nearly related to it. "It was a Custom," he says, "at that time, for Persons of the First Rank and Distinction to give their Birth-Day Suits to the most Favoured Actors." He adds that it was expected that the actor wear the suit so given whenever its donor and his patron was at the theatre. He gives an amusing instance of the consequent predicament in which the actor Mr. John Thurmond found himself when his benefactor unexpectedly made his appearance at the theatre while the donated suit was reposing at a pawnshop."

The comment is scarcely necessary that such an array of borrowed finery could bear little relation to the plays produced; yet throughout the history of the theatre for the next hundred years there are records similar to these, records which show the general carelessness in matters of stage costume. Sometimes the actors were hard put to it to procure suitable finery. Tate Wilkinson in the middle of the eighteenth century records his entry on the London stage as the Fine Gentleman in Lethe:

Away went Shuter and myself to Monmouth Street, where for two guineas, I was equiped with the loan of a heavy, rich, glaring, spangled, embroidered velvet suit of clothes, and in this full dress, fit for the King in Hamlet, with my hair in papers, did I advance with timid steps through crowds of people: for Shuter's popularity had drawn the whole London world.²⁰

He also throws light on the custom of the time by his record for the same year of the benefit for Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Costello on April 19. On this occasion they could not afford to hire a good suit for the Fine Gentleman, and all the best

⁸ Downes, L. c., p. 29.

^{*}Chetwood, W. R., A General History of the Stage (London, 1749), pp. 22-24. Doran in his Annals of the British Stage, II: 304, 305, says, "I think that this custom of noblemen's presenting their cast-off court suits to great players... went out before the middle of the last [eighteenth] century."

w Wilkinson, Tate, Memoirs of His Own Life, (Dublin, 1791), I: 98, 99.

modern clothes were already appropriated by the best actors. Hence:

Mr. Whitfield, the wardrobe keeper, produced a very short old suit of clothes, with a black velvet ground, and broad gold flowers . . . this apparel had not been brought to light since the first year Garrick played Lothario at that theatre in 1746.

Bedecked in this sable array, for the Modern Fine Gentleman, and to make that appearance complete, I added an old red surtout, trimmed with a dirty white fur, and a deep skinned cape of the same hue, honoured by old Giffard, I was informed, at Lincoln's Inn-Fields theatre, to exhibit King Lear in. This grand dress, with an old stock muff, used for the Gentleman Usher in the Rehearsal, my hair in papers, as on my first curious exhibition, gave the tout ensemble to my accomplished figure."

That an interchange of courtesies might be expected in the matter is further suggested in the same author's account of his own benefit. The wardrobe of the theatre was inadequate to fit out *Jane Shore*, which had been chosen for the occasion.

But with the manager's consent, and Mr. Dexter's approbation, I wore Mr. Dexter's grand suit for particular occasions, which was a new blue satin, richly trimmed with silver, looked very elegant, and what was better, fitted me exactly.²⁸

George Anne Bellamy adds the spice of the feminine gender to a story illustrative of the same carelessness of propriety in dress which she tells of the same period in the Dublin theatre while Thomas Sheridan was manager.

Early in the season, the tragedy of "All for Love, or the World Well Lost" was revived; The getting it up produced the following extraordinary incidents. The manager, in an excursion he had made during the summer to London, had purchased a superb suit of clothes that had belonged to the Princess of Wales, and had been only worn by her on the birth-day. This was made into a dress for me to play the Character of Cleopatra; and as the ground of it was silver tissue, my mother thought that by turning the body of it in, it would be a no unbecoming addition to my waste, which was remarkably small. My maid-servant was accordingly sent to the theater to assist the dresser and mantua-maker in pre-



¹¹ Wilkinson, Tate, Memoirs of His Own Life, (Dublin, 1791), I: 100,

²⁹ Ibid., I: 178.

paring it; and also in sewing in a number of diamonds, my patroness not only having furnished me with her own, but borrowed several others of acquaintance for me. When the women had finished the work, they all went out of the room, and left the door of it indiscreetly open.

Mrs. Furnival (who owed me a grudge-) accidentally passed by the door of my dressing room on the way to her own as it stood open. Seeing my rich dress thus lying exposed, and observing no person by to prevent her, she stepped in and carried off the Queen of Egypt's paraphernalia, to adorn herself in the character of Octavia the Roman matron, which she was to perform. By remarking from time to time my dress, which was very different from the generality of heroines: Mrs. Furnival had just acquired taste enough to despise the black velvet in which those ladies were usually habited. And without considering the impropriety of enrobing a Roman matron in the habiliments of the Egyptian Queen; or perhaps not knowing that there was any impropriety in it, she determined for once in her life-time, to be as fine as myself, and that at my expense. She accordingly set to work to let out the cloathes, which through my mother's economical advice had been taken in. [Mrs. Bellamy's maid, she records, discovered the theft, was restrained by peace-makers from doing Mrs. Furnival bodily harm, but remained inconsolable. Mrs. Bellamy was forced to don simpler garments, but she still had the diadem.] The report of the richness and elegance of my dress [she modestly continues her story] had been universally the subject of conversation for some time before the night of the performance; when, to the surprise of the audience, I appeared in white satin.

[But the climax came when Mrs. Furnival appeared in her newly appropriated grandeur, for Mrs. Butler cried out, "Good Heaven, the woman has got on my diamonds." The house had to be assured by Mr. Sheridan that the jewels had not been stolen, but when the curtain went down for the first act, there were cries of "No more Furnival." That lady wisely took refuge in fits, and Mrs. Elmy was put in to finish the part.]¹²

That the costumes worn on the stage were shabby as well as lacking in propriety throughout the first half of the eighteenth century is the universal opinion of the critics of the time. Cibber gives many amusing references to Dogget's economies and to his anguished viewing of Wilks's extravagances, when "for example, at the beginning of almost

¹³ An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy. Written by herself (London, 1785, third ed.), I: 131 sq.

every season he would order two or three suits to be made or refreshed for actors of moderate consequence, that his having constantly a new one for himself might seem less particular, though he had, as yet, no part for it." Particularly painful to Dogget was the sight of new clothes worn during the production of an old play. And that similar meagerness in the theatrical wardrobe was found in the whole of the first half of the century is to be seen in all the records already quoted as instances of the lack of care in regard to propriety of dress.

Mrs. Bellamy, to whom costumes—particularly her own—were of primary importance in theatrical affairs, sums up the matter of early eighteenth century stage dress, making comparisons between the dress of that period and that of the period at which she wrote:

The dresses of theatrical ladies were at this period very indifferent. The Empresses and Queens were confined to black velvet, except on extraordinary occasions, when they put on an embroidered or tissue petticoat. The young ladies generally appeared in a cast gown of some person of quality; as at this epoch the women of that denomination were not blessed with the taste of the present age, and had much more economy, the stage brides and virgins often made their appearance in altered habits, rather soiled.¹⁵

The dress of the gentlemen, both of the sock and buskin, was full as absurd as that of the ladies. While the Empresses and Queens appeared in black velvet, . . . the male part of the dramatis personae *struted* in tarnished laced coats and waistcoats, full bottom or tye wigs, and black worsted stockings.¹⁰

The significance of these accounts, however, lies not in the fact of the prevailing meagerness and inappropriateness which they reveal as having characterized stage dress during the century after the Restoration, but in the fact of the utter failure of critics and actors alike to recognize aesthetic principles upon the basis of which theatrical costumes might be

¹⁴ An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber. Written by himself (Bellchambers ed., London, 1822), 384. The period referred to is about 1712.

¹⁵ Bellamy, l. c., I: 51.

¹⁶ Ibid., VI: 20, 21.

chosen. The individual taste of the actor was the only artistic law known. The expense incurred was the only managerial consideration.

Even during this period of carelessness in matters of stage dress, there was, nevertheless, general conformity to certain traditions, some of them inherited from before the wars. Most important of these traditions, perhaps, was that which obtained in the custom of the actors when playing a character "of heroism and dignity," to wear a large plume of feathers. Davies quotes a passage from Act III, Scene 2, of Hamlet and explains it:

"Hamlet: Would not this, Sir, and a forest of feathers get me a fellowship in a cry of players?"

The forest of feathers alludes to large plumes of feathers which the old actors wore on their heads in characters of heroism and dignity. This practice was adopted at the Restoration, and continued in force till Mr. Garrick's aera of management. His superior taste got rid of the incumbrance."

Eccentricities that arose from this practice are suggested by Cooke's record of Booth, who as the Ghost in *Hamlet* wore a plume of feathers in his helmet, 18 and by Boaden's account of an Emilia in *Othello* who by "out-dressing her lady and the aid of a rich plume of feathers," contrived to indicate to the spectators that she would do something at last. 19

I have already quoted from George Anne Bellamy the record of the tradition which prescribed black velvet for empresses and queens. This same historian of her own time gives us an account of the venture of playing Lady Macbeth in white satin,²⁰ but any such departure was regarded as grave and unusual.

The traditional dressing of a villain to look the part has not altogether disappeared, but at least only in itinerant com-



²⁷ Davies, Thomas, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London, 1784), III: 90-95. It will be remembered that the actors before the wars are usually referred to as the "old actors," and that Davies is here evidently referring to an old custom taken up again after the Restoration.

²⁶ Cooke, William, Memoirs of Charles Macklin (London, 1806, second ed.), 377.

Boaden, James, Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons (London, 1827), I: 72.

[≈] Bellamy, l. c., IV: 465.

panies of melodramatic artists is there to be found quite such palpable giving away of the murderer's secret as was customary in the early eighteenth century. Davies, writing in 1784, again offers explanatory comment in a phrase from *Hamlet*, Act III, Scene 2:

"Hamlet. Begin, Murderer; leave thy damnable faces, and begin."

This contains a censure upon the custom of certain actors, who were cast into the parts of conspirators, traitors, and murderers, who used to disguise themselves in large black wigs and distort their features, in order to appear terrible; in short, to discover that which their art should teach them to conceal. I have seen Hipperly act the first Murderer in Macbeth: his face was made pale with chalk, distinguished with large whiskers, and a long black wig. This custom, of dressing so preposterously the hateful implement of a tragic scene is now almost worn out."

Colley Cibber also commented on this custom:

In King Charles's time, this low skill was carried to such extravagance that the King himself, who was black-browed, and of a swarthy complexion, passed a pleasant remark, upon his observing the grim looks of the murtherers in "Macbeth"; when, turning to his people in the box about him, "Pray, what is the meaning," said he, "that we never see a rogue in the play, but, godsfish! they always clap him on a black periwig, when, it is well known, one of the greatest rogues in England always wears a fair one?" This story I had from Betterton, who was a man of veracity: and, I confess, I should have thought the King's observation a very just one, though he himself had been fair as Adonis. Nor can I, in this question, help voting with the court; for were it not too gross a weakness to employ in wicked purposes, men whose very suspected looks might be enough to betray them? Or are we to suppose it unnatural, that a murther should be thoroughly committed out of an old red coat, and a black periwig?"

Yet Cibber himself justified this use of physical deformity and ugliness to make crime and criminals less attractive.²³

Certain traditions persisted in regard to the costuming of the stage witches also. These parts were generally assigned to the comedians of the company, who were at leisure during



^{*} Davies, L. c.. I: 92, 98.

²² Cibber, L c., 140, 141.

[≈] Ibid., 184.

the presentation of the tragedies in which the witches appeared. Davies comments on their regulation "gowns, beards, and coifs." 24

Of more significance than the adherence to these particular traditions was the recognition given during this period to certain principles of appropriateness which were not at all aesthetic principles, but rather the expression of a fundamental belief in the distinction between good and better, and better and best. For instance, a frequently reiterated belief was that the actors, as servants of the public, should not out-dress their masters.25 Of course, it is barely possible that the servants of the public did not take too seriously this dictum of the critics.26 It is likely that they took more seriously, however, the judgment of the critics and public in insisting that the good actress should have the good gown.²⁷ Gradually the tendency to overdress or dress improperly the minor characters of the stage world came to be frowned upon by both the public and the actors, and it was repeatedly emphasized that the characters of humble life must be appropriately dressed, as must the characters of exalted position. It was insisted, too, that those characters which were meant to be fashionable must be fashionably dressed and must not be arrayed in out-of-date finery.28

The most important distinction made was that between tragedy and comedy. It was generally acknowledged that tragedy actors must have the better costumes. The basis of judgment was the same that necessitated a different mode of delivery for tragedy than for comedy—the greater moral significance of tragedy. Apparently the only objections to

²⁴ Davies, L. c., II: 118, 119.

²⁶ Cf. Chetwood, l. c., 26.

^{*}It is certain that Mrs. Bellamy and Mrs. Abington at least regarded themselves as the fashion models of their day.

^{*}Sir John Hill in *The Actor* (1750), p. 163, says that he could remember "the audience bestowing their curses on the managers for not getting that good actress [Mrs. Pritchard] a better gown."

³⁸ cf. Kirkman, James T., Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin, Esq., (London, 1799), I: 332. In one sense these latter demands are demands for realistic treatment of the characters, but that they were not consciously artistic is evident to anyone who reads of them in the works of Cibber, Davies, and Kirkman.

this order of things were raised by the neglected comedians. Cibber gives a full account of the distinction recognized in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries:

The Lincoln's Inn Fields company were now, in 1696, a commonwealth, like that of Holland. . . Yet experience, in a year or two, showed that they had never been worse governed than when they governed themselves. . . The tragedians seemed to think their rank as much above the comedians, as in the characters they severally acted; when the first were in their finery, the latter were impatient at the expense; and looked upon it as rather laid out upon the real, than the fictitious person of the actor; nay, I have known in our own company this ridiculous sort of regret arrived so far, that the tragedian has thought himself injured, when the comedian pretended to wear a fine coat. I remember Powel, upon surveying my first dress in the "Relapse," was out of all temper, and reproached our master in very rude terms, that he had not so good a suit to play Caesar Borgia in, though he knew, at the same time, my Lord Foppington filled the house, when his bouncing Borgia would do little more, than pay fiddles and candles to it; and though a character of vanity might be supposed more expensive in dress, than possibly one of ambition, yet the high heart of this heroical actor could not bear that a comedian should ever pretend to be well dressed as himself. Thus again, on the contrary, when Betterton proposed to set off a tragedy the comedians were sure to murmur at this charge of it: and the late reputation which Dogget had acquired, from acting his Ben, in "Love for Love," made him a more declared malcontent on such occasions; he overvalued comedy for its being nearer to nature than tragedy, which is allowed to say many fine things, that nature never spoke, in the same words: and supposing his opinion were just, yet he should have considered that the public had a taste as well as himself; which, in policy, he ought to have complied with. Dogget, however, could not, with patience, look upon the costly trains and plumes of tragedy, in which, knowing himself to be useless, he thought they were all a vain extravagance!"

In later years we find George Anne Bellamy giving due cognizance to the same reverence for tragedy in a racy account of her purchase-by-proxy of two "tragedy dresses" in Paris. However, she wore her "tragedy dresses" undiscriminatingly as the Persian Princess in Alexandria and the

²⁰ Cibber, l. c., 228, 229.

Empress Fulvia in Constantine and whatever other characters she played.²⁰

The heralds of a coming change in matters of theatrical costume were, significantly, the same men that first attracted attention to new theories of acting: Aaron Hill, Charles Macklin, and Sir John Hill.²¹ Inevitably the Romanticism which affected every expression of the art impulses of the latter half of the eighteenth century affected stage costume also. And the realism which was the first demand of the Romantic Movement found its prophets and first priests in these three men. Their efforts and those of their early followers worked often for eccentricity rather than either correctness or beauty, but it is to them that we must look to discover the way in which the later theories of stage costume originated and developed.

The earliest complete formulation of this romantic demand for realism in stage costume was given by Aaron Hill. In the *Plain Dealer*, under date of October 12, 1724, he gives an account of his meeting a "Party-coloured younger Brother, of the justly celebrated Mr. Lun" and of his being given a play bill for a puppet show at the White-Hart in St. Margaret's-Lane announcing, "Every Figure dress'd according to their own Country Habits." Concerning this announcement he rhapsodizes:

That, indeed, is a Stroke of Decorum, which out-soars, at one Flight, Patent, License, and Charter! And it will be reasonable to hope, after the Publick Taste has been so refin'd, by these Chips of a New Block, that we shall see no more Intermixture of the Ancient, with the modern Dresses: Where the Order of Things is so capriciously revers'd, that the Courtiers of an English Monarch shall stand round him, like Beaux of Yesterday; and the Sovereign himself strut about, in Trunk Breeches, and be dress'd, as old as a Patriarch.²⁰



²⁰ cf. Bellamy, l. c., II: 205-208.

²¹ For an account of their contribution to the theory of acting see an earlier paper, "The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century" in Pub. of Mod. Lang. Ass., XXXII, no. 2. "Hill, Aaron, The Plain Dealer, (see Ed. 1734; published originally in 1724), II: 17.

Later, in the *Prompter* for January 24, 1735, there appeared a letter giving fuller explanation of Hill's ideas. This letter, signed by "Jeff'ry Cat-Call," is of the utmost significance and deserves extended quotation. The critic, after duly sorrowing over the introduction of the comic element in tragedy, even in Shakespearean tragedy, continues:

For this reason, I have been greatly offended at the ridiculous Dresses, in which our inferior Sons of the Buskin generally make their Appearance.—I have frequently seen a Duke, in a Coat half a yard too long for him; and a Lord High-Chamberlain, that had shed most of his Buttons.—I have seen Men of Proud Hearts submitting, unnaturally, to strut in tarnish'd Lace; And there is a Certain Knight of the Garter, who condescends to tye back his Wig, with a Packthread.—When a King of England has honour'd the Stage, with his whole Court, in full Splendor, about him, I'd have undertaken to purchase the Cloathes of all his Nobility, for the value of five Pounds.—It exceeds (as my Brother Satirist has it) all Power of Face to be serious, at the sight of so much Shabbiness and Majesty!

The Reason of This, I am inform'd, is that the Habits do not become Perquisites of Earls and Barons, till they have been worn out, by the Emperors of the Theatre; but, whether This is always the Case, or, whether those Noble Personages are not sometimes obliged to travel toward Monmouth street for their Equipment, I will not take upon me to determine.

The Bounds of Probability, in the Mean Time, may be as openly transgress'd, in the Appearance of an Actor, as in the Sentiments which he utters.—And the Dress therefore shou'd always be suited to the Person who takes it upon him.—An old Roman cou'd never with any Propriety, be made to look like a Modern Frenchman; nor a Dutch Burgo-master's Wife, like a Queen of Great Britain.—When, therefore, Persons of Rank and Figure are introduc'd upon the stage, they shou'd be cloath'd so as to represent Themselves, and not the Patch-work Inconsistencies of their Management.

They will say in their Excuse, that some of these Actors' own Cloathes, are as shabby, as those they wear in the Theatre; no matter for that.—Let us, for Humour's Sake, imagine a Painter Imitating the Example of these Brentford Princes of our Theatres; and drawing Pictures, for the Great Men, of this Nation. . . . Let us suppose him to have painted the Duke of R—d, with an immeasurable length of Perriwig, whose every Hair was as uncrooked as his Purposes: —Sir R—, W—, with his Pockets at the very Bottom of his Flaps; as if He were in Prospect of having no Occasion to Reach them,—And the Lord C—t, without a Shirt, as if the Cand-

our of his Soul, were to have been express'd, by the Nakedness of his Picture: wou'd not every one discern the Indecency of such unseasonable Fancies, and condemn that Fault in the Painter, tho' his Strokes shou'd be ever so natural? I am sensible, it wou'd be more Expensive, to cloath Every Actor with Propriety; . . . so it would, to qualify Managers with Judgment. Yet, Both the One, and the Other, are what the Publick have a right to expect

Not content with mere theorizing, Hill attempted to follow his own teaching. Under date of October 23, 1731, he wrote to Mr. Wilks concerning his play of *The Generous Traitor* or Aethelwold:

As soon as the time draws near I will shew you, by a few light drawings, a beautiful, and no expensive occasion, for a novelty in the old Saxon dresses: which will not only carry more propriety, than the modern, but an equal grace, with the Greek or Roman: and may be form'd upon their spare ground-work; yet, appear quite new to the audience.

Under date of October 28, 1731, he sent drawings for the dresses to Mr. Wilks and wrote:

Leolyn, because a Briton, ought not to have his habit Saxon all; the rest have the authority of Verstegan's Antiquities, for the ground-work of their appearance; only I need not observe to you, that some Heightenings were necessary, because beauty must be join'd to propriety, where the decoration of the stage, is the purpose to be provided for.

For this reason, too, I had regard to a contrast of colours, in the several parts of each person's dress; and in those of the whole number, with respect to their appearance, together. These are little things, but I have often observed that their effect is not little.

To say nothing, as to impropriety, in the custom of dressing characters so far back, in time, after the common fashions of our days, it weakens probability, and cuts off, in great measure, what most strikes an audience; for it relaxes the pomp of Tragedy, and the generality, being led by the eye, can conceive nothing extraordinary, where they see nothing uncommon. It is, also, worth notice, that a fine, natural shape, receives great advantage, from a well-imagined turn of habit, and an awkward, unnatural one has an air, that burlesques dignity without it.

The Furrs, which you will observe pretty frequent, in the figures, are a prime distinction, in the old Saxon habits; and will have something of a grandeur, not without beauty.

As to the coronets, it was the custom of those times, for persons of high rank, to wear them, upon common, as well as extraordinary occasion; but they must be distinguished, more than they are in the papers, to point out the different degrees; and worn in a more becoming position, higher off from the forehead, and a little leaning to one side. There is an advantage will attend the use of their long single feather, beyond that of the plume It will be light, and may be worn, throughout five acts, without warmth or inconvenience.

The principles of costuming laid down by Aaron Hill have never been superseded, though they have been much elaborated. His insistence upon propriety as well as probability in costume and also his insistence upon the importance of beauty in color and line mark him as indeed the prophet of things to come. In one respect, however, he differs from his immediate successors: he proposed the use of imitation materials and the adapting of old costumes to new uses. It is unfortunate that the drawings which accompanied the letter to Wilks last quoted have been lost. Like most of Aaron Hill's ventures, his proposed innovations for Aethelwold came to naught, but the fact of his scientific interest in the matter of costume is significant in any study of the stage.

Charles Macklin is the second forerunner of stage realism who deserves more attention than he generally receives. When he made his famous appearance in *The Merchant of Venice* in 1741, he wore a red hat. Cooke says:

A few days afterwards Macklin received an invitation from Lord Bolingbroke to dine with him at Battersea. . . . He attended the rendezvous, and there found Pope, and a select party, who complimented him very highly on the part of Shylock, and questioned him about many little particulars relative to his getting up the play, etc. Pope particularly asked him, why he wore a red hat? and he answered, because he had read that Jews in Italy, particularly in Venice, wore hats of that colour. "And pray, Mr. Macklin," said Pope, "do players in general take such pains?"—"I do not know, Sir, that they do; but as I had staked my reputation on the character,

[#] Hill, Aaron, Works (London, 1783), I: 88-91.

I was determined to spare no trouble in getting at the best information." Pope nodded, and said, "it was very laudable." 24

The same attention to correctness is found in the performance of Othello at Drury Lane in 1751 by a group of fashionables under Macklin's coaching. The dresses are said to have been "not only magnificent, but well fancied, and adapted to the characters.—Othello's was a robe, in the fashion of his country; Roderigo's an elegant modern suit, and Cassio's and Iago's very rich uniforms." The most famous change made by Macklin in costuming a part, however, was the change effected in the dress of Macbeth in 1772. Cook's account of the matter is supported by that of many others:

Previously to this period, Macbeth used to be dressed in a suit of scarlet and gold, a tail wig, etc., in every respect like a modern military officer. Garrick always played it in this manner. . . . Macklin, however, whose eye and mind were ever intent on his profession, saw the absurdity of exhibiting a Scotch character, existing many years before the Norman Conquest, in this manner and therefore very properly abandoned it for the old Caledonian habit. He shewed the same attention to the subordinate characters, as well as to the scenes, decorations, music, and other incidental parts of the performance.**

In 1750, a pupil of Macklin, Sir John Hill, published his work *The Actor*, in which he also enunciated the theory of realism in costume.

The dress of the player is another article in which we expect a conformity to nature; but this we expect in vain, especially in the women: the characters of an inferior kind are always overdressed.

The dress of the player is not only to be suited to the part but to the circumstances of it. When Orestes comes from the tumult at the death of Pyrrhus, there is no discomposure in his person. Mr. Barry is pardonable in having his periwig new dressed for the fourth act of Romeo, because the poet has removed him to Mantua, and there must have been time for such an operation: but when the unities are more preserved, this affectation is unpardonable.

²¹ Cooke, l. c., 92.

²⁵ Kirkman, L c., I: 333-342.

³⁴ Cooke, L. c., 283, 284.

^{**} The Actor (1755 ed.), 255, 256.

Such were the foreshadowings of realism on the stage in matters of costume. It is necessary, however, to remember always that opera and pantomime were enjoying luxurious presentation during the eighteenth century while the regular drama played a sort of Cinderella, shabby-sister apprenticeship before the coming of Garrick. On the opera stage elegant materials and expensive machinery had been the rule long before the most ardent exponents of the drama did aught but rail at these unworthy competitors of tragedy and comedy.²⁸

During the Garrick period (1742 to 1776) there was to be observed a growing luxuriousness in scenery and costume, as the drama, newly popular, was able to acquire some of the perquisites of opera. Stage kings and queens played in real velvets and satins and jewels, but Garrick did not contribute much to the idea of correctness in costume. In spite of the popular opinion to the contrary, the Garrick era was an era of inaccuracy in costume. Spasmodic attempts to follow the principles of fidelity to historical truth were numerous. Local color was often striven for. But the attempts were generally inconsistent, and there was little scientific interest in the subject, such as that which Aaron Hill had manifested.

The accounts of stage affairs throughout the eighteenth century abound in tales of incongruous costumes: of a Cordelia played by George Anne Bellamy meriting Louis XV's comment, "Umph! very well! but her hoop is so large"; of Garrick as Macbeth, in "a scarlet coat, a silver-laced waistcoat, and an eighteenth century wig and breeches, as may be seen in Zoffany's picture, now in the Garrick Club"; of the witches in Garrick's Macbeth arrayed in "mit-

Efor typical accounts of opera and pantomime during this period see Cibber, l. c., 60, 78, 79, 437; Davies, Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, I: 92, 93; Foote, Companion to the Theatres, 85-87, 110; Dibdin, A Complete History of the Stage, IV: 18, 380, 381.

Doran's Annals of the British Stage devotes a chapter to "Stage Costumes and Stage Tricks", II: 302-317. The chapter lists incongruous costumes from Betterton to Mrs. Siddons.

^{*}Bellamy, L c., VI: 96-98.

⁴ Knight, Joseph, David Garrick (London, 1894), 111.

tens, plaited caps, laced aprons, red stomachers, ruffs, etc."; ⁴² of Garrick as Othello in a Moorish dress, which costume occasioned Quin's giving him his much-detested appellation of "Desdemona's little black boy"; ⁴³ of Garrick again as Jaffier in Venice Preserved in a "black coat and smalls"; ⁴⁴ of Cato in the person of Digges dressed, as Boaden said, "exactly like Sir Roger de Coverly, as chairman of a bench of judges"; ⁴⁵ or of Cato as he is seen in the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, on whom Fitzgerald comments: "With his bare legs and short petticoat, he looks more like a Highlander going to bed than that noble Roman, John Kemble"; ⁴⁶ even of Mrs. Siddons's Imogene in Cymbeline during the season of 1786–7 in a "frock-coat and trousers of our modern beaux." ⁴⁷

Stage armor was even more incongruous than stage dress. Boaden, writing of the closing years of the eighteenth century, said:

On the subject of armour, the stage has always been as badly supplied as Don Quixote himself; though the books of the theatre, and those of the Knight, are full of most excellent suits. The audiences of Richard III are doomed to hear of those steel shells, by which valour was so secured formerly. . . . Now it is no less strange than true, that, excepting the breastplate and thighpieces of Richmond, not one of the dramatis personae has the smallest particle of armour upon him, in either army.

The same writer quotes an antiquary's comment on the 1799 performance of Feudal Times at Drury Lane:

Davies, Dram. Mis., I: 145.

⁴³ Bellamy, I. c., VI: 21, 22. Sir John Hill in *The Actor*, 152, 153, comments on this performance with his usual inconsistency. Of Garrick he says, "Had he contented himself to have dressed for Othello as he does for Macbeth (and whether that be right or no custom authorizes it) he would certainly have escaped all the little raillery which wounded him so deeply on this occasion."

[&]quot;Cf. the description of Zoffany's portrait of Garrick and Mrs. Cibber as Jaffier and Belvidere in Fitzgerald's The Garrick Club, 164.

⁴⁸ Boaden, L c., I: 126, 127.

[#] Fitzgerald, l. c., 194.

[&]quot; Boaden, l. c., II: 221.

Boaden, James, The Life of Mrs. Jordan (London, 1831). II: 41. 42.

"My God! a commander of an armed force blowing his own trumpet!—Gracious Heaven! Why that is a Roman habit, and that a Grecian helmet! There goes James the First's ruff—and Charles the First's armour—Shields of all shapes, cross-bows like pick-axes; and a modern parade Drum-Major!!"

Such tales have a certain piquancy, but they are not severally important save as they illustrate the general lack of concern for accuracy in matters of costuming. Of much more significance than these customary eccentricities and inaccuracies are the occasional attempts at correctness. I have already instanced Macklin's red hat in *The Merchant of Venice* and his old Caledonian costume in *Macbeth*. Occasionally these spasmodic attempts at correctness were made in the dressing of the principal character only. Davies records in his *Dramatic Miscellany*:

It is but within these twenty years that the plays of Richard III and Henry VIII were distinguished by the two principal characters being dressed with propriety, though differently from all the rest. Falstaff was till very lately, an unique in dress as well as character. 60

And Boaden in describing the production of Dr. Delap's Captives of 1786 said:

The only thing noticeable in the tragedy was, that Kemble appeared in the genuine Scottish dress, but had no other actor on the



[&]quot; Ibid., 31, 32.

Davies, L. c., III: 81-83. Miss Alice Wood's The Stage History of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third (New York, 1909), 108, 109, makes an interesting note relative to this comment of Davies: "Throughout the period great regard for costume, so far as richness of effect was concerned, persisted, but little was done for its propriety, as the portraits of the time show. In Hogarth's portrait of Garrick as Richard the Third the dress is Elizabethan, with trunks and hose, ruffs at neck and wrists, and the short sleeveless fur-edged coat, showing the puffed sleeves of the tunic. This costume is probably the traditional one from the Shakespearian stage, and leads me to believe that Richard, even in Cibber's personation, never appeared in contemporary dress, whatever the minor characters may have done." After quoting the passage from Davies, she continues: "This seems to have been true throughout Garrick's management. Whether Davies by 'propriety' meant that he thought Richard was in the dress of the fifteenth century is not clear, but his archeological knowledge as to the proper costume of that time, was probably not in advance of that of his contemporaries." See also the account in Personal Reminiscences of O'Keefe, Kelly and Taylor, (R. A. Stoddard, ed., New York, 1815), under "Reminiscences of O'Keefe," p. 64.

stage to keep him in countenance. These solitary flashes of propriety denoted the zeal of the great actor for the truth of exhibition; a time was soon to arrive, when he would carry his wishes beyond himself, and produce a tragedy on the stage, through the whole of whose characters, illustrations, or means, one correct, presiding mind should be clearly discerned.⁵¹

This sort of zeal was occasionally employed in gaining local color in costume also. The interest in China and in the Indies is reflected particularly in the drama of the century, but this interest did not secure scientific accuracy in the portrayal of dress or customs. For instance, the well-known picture of Mrs. Bracegirdle as the Indian Queen shows her in the satin gown—well boned—and the plume of feathers usual to an heroic part. But her bare feet are encased in sandals, and two black boys in barbarically scanty attire attend her to carry her elegant train and hold over her head a palm leaf shade.

In order to establish correctness as one of the principles of costuming, the essential condition, of course, was the knowledge of ancient costumes and old armor, as well as of the costumes of foreign peoples. It was thus necessary that the work of the archeologist and the antiquarian, the historian and the traveler precede that of the stage manager. To take account only of those events which were most directly influential in the matter of stage costume, it is necessary to remember that the eighteenth century was distinguished by the discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii; that the important Society of Antiquaries, reorganized in 1707, was put on its present basis in 1751, beginning in 1747 the publication of Vetera Monumenta, and in 1770 the publication of Archeologia; that in 1770 Bishop Percy's translation of Mallet's Northern Antiquities was published; that the first great popular history of England, Hume's History of England, made its appearance between 1754 and 1761, followed by Doctor Henry's History of England after 1768; that in 1711 an Academy of Painters was founded with Sir



¹¹ Boaden, James, Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble, Bsq., (London, 1825), I: 325, 326.

Godfrey Kneller at its head; that in 1758 the Duke of Richmond opened a gallery of casts from the antique in Whitehall; and that in 1768 was founded the Royal Academy. Between 1803 and 1806 the Elgin marbles were brought to England. And in the early years of the nineteenth century were published Scott's works with their popularizing of antiquarian pursuits.⁵²

This interest in people of other times and of other lands was characteristic of the whole Romantic Movement; as it affected stage costume its most important manifestations were seen in the publication of works of costume in increasing numbers after the middle of the eighteenth century and through the first quarter of the nineteenth. According to Planché, the first English work of this sort, save works published in Latin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was Thomas Jeffery's A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Ancient and Modern, after the Designs of Holbein, Vandyke, Hollars, and others, published from 1757 to 1772. The most important work on costume, so far as the stage was concerned, however, was Joseph Strutt's Horda Angelcynnan, or A Compleat View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits, etc. of the Inhabitants of England, published in 1775. This three-volume work is painstaking in its accuracy; it contains extensive descriptions and many illustrative plates. The author described it as, so far as he knew, "the first attempt of this sort ever made in this country," and it has remained the foundation work upon which later students have based their researches. work was followed by a series of works of related character during the early years of the nineteenth century. 1814 was published a work making in its preface definite



Solution Planché, J. R., in his Recollections, I: 224, says: "To Sir Walter Scott the honour is due of having first attracted public attention to the advantages derivable from the study of such subjects as a new source of effect as well as of historical illustration; and though his descriptions of the dress, armour, and architecture of the Anglo-Norman and Medieval periods are far from correct, those in the romances and poems, the scenes of which are laid in his own country or elsewhere during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are admirable for their truth and graphic delineation".

claims of particular significance. This work was Charles Hamilton Smith's The Ancient Costumes of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Century. The preface explains:

The Collection of Ancient Costumes exhibited in this Volume is selected from an immense mass of materials in the possession of the Author. It was originally begun for private amusement, and with a view to ascertain more correctly the Clothing, Arms, Decorations, and appearance of historic characters in the earliest periods of our annals than had as yet been attempted. It was evident that, notwithstanding the labours of the accurate Mr. Strutt, truth of costume was little regarded either by Painters or Actors; and it seemed that this inattention to so essential a part of historic representation arose from a prejudiced idea in a great proportion of the Public, which conceived, that the pursuits of the Antiquary are dry, tasteless, and inelegant; and that to introduce upon the stage or upon the canvas materials derived from such a source, must naturally destroy all beauty and harmony, and produce an insipid if not a burlesque effect. But an inspection of the following specimens will tend to prove the notion groundless, and shew that when the outline of the human form is preserved tolerably correct, the draperies and armour will not be wanting in beauty or grandeur. Far from diminishing the impression intended to be conveyed, an adherence to the Costume of the times represented will augment the illusion, and assist to explain the meaning."

This work was amply illustrated by colored plates. In 1815 this work was revised and enlarged under the title of Costumes of the Original Inhabitants of the British Isles, the author working in collaboration with Sir Samuel Meyrick. Meyrick's most famous work, however, is his A Critical Inquiry into antient Armour, published in 1824 and furnishing the basis of subsequent works on old armor and related subjects. The great work on British costume did not appear until 1834, when James Robinson Planché's History of British Costume was published. The author commented



³³ In Paris in 1804-5 was published Recherches sur les Costumes, les Moeurs, les Usages Religieux, Civile et Militaires des Anciens Peuples, by J. Malliot which professed the reason for its existence to be found in the fact that (I quote from the Avertissement to the second edition of 1809) "Les artistes desiraient un livre classique sur le costume et les moeurs des anciens peuples".

particularly on the changing habits of the stage in regard to dress and on the consequent need for a handbook of costume. He explained:

The taste for a correct conception of the arms and habits of our ancestors has of late years rapidly diffused itself throughout Europe. The historian, the poet, the novelist, the painter, and the actor have discovered in attention to costume a new spring of information and a fresh source of effect.

This interest revealed in the works on historical costume was paralleled by an interest in the costumes of foreign peoples which was manifested especially during the early years of the nineteenth century but which was not particularly influential in contemporary stage affairs so far as I have been able to discover. The work of William Miller (or Müller) was of particular importance.⁵⁴

To make available the knowledge of costumes and customs of the ancients and of strange peoples was, of course, the work of the scholar. To interpret this knowledge to the audience at the theater was the task of the stage manager and his assistants. That this task became more and more a necessary one as the taste of the people was educated through their knowledge of the results of the work of these students of research is, of course, apparent. Naturally, therefore, during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century there was a growing importance attached to the position of stage manager and a new interest in stage artists.

It is, of course, apparent that the Romantic demand for realism embraced the demand for the use of real materials in stage costumes and for accuracy of historical detail and local color in their design. Garrick, as I have already said, did not make any noteworthy contribution to correctness in theatrical dress. He apparently was not interested in antiquarian pursuits, and whatever contributions he made

^{*}For an account of the work of Miller, see the article in the Dictionary of National Biography. Also article in Gentleman's Magasine, 1845, Pt. I, 102, 103. He was the author of a series of works in quarto on the costumes of China, Russia, Turkey, etc., published during the first years of the nineteenth century.

were made for the sake of scenic novelty and were offered as spectacular attractions to the public. He did bring about the use of elegant materials, real jewels, and similar luxurious trappings on the stage, but again he seems to have been interested in them not because of their answering the artistic demand for reality but because they were extravagances which the public would pay to see.

Yet however much Garrick failed to pursue the ideals of accuracy on the stage, he is to be reckoned as important in the history of the progress of stage realism because of his bringing to the English stage De Loutherbourg. Garrick met this Alsatian artist, already popular in Paris, where he had studied "stage illusion and mechanics," and engaged his services for Drury Lane, where he continued to work until 1781. Later he went to Covent Garden. Dictionary of National Biography states rather overwhelmingly and vaguely that he reformed theatrical costume. Such a claim is not quite modest enough, but it is certain that De Loutherbourg did contribute to the stage even before the Kemble period a distinct interest in accurate and effective costuming on the stage. Primarily his interest was in scenic effect, but he realized, apparently for the first time in the history of the English stage, the relation of costume and scenery, and the necessity for making both produce an unified artistic effect, as well as the necessity for making both accurately reproduce the environment of the On December 20, 1785, under his characters of the play. direction there was produced at Covent Garden, O'Keefe's pantomime, Omai or Obessa, Queen of the Sandwich Isles, the costumes being designed from studies made by John Webber, R. A., the painter who was with Captain Cook on his last voyage, and who painted The Death of Captain Cook.55 As nearly as I can ascertain, this was the first performance on the English stage characterized by the attempt to secure absolute accuracy in regard to foreign costume by



on De Loutherbourg, comment in the London Magasine for the month. and in Boaden's Kemble, I: 311, 312.

having dresses designed by an artist from studies actually made on the spot. De Loutherbourg's contribution to the realism of stage costume came because of his scientific interest in accuracy and because of his interest in producing the semblance of real life on the stage. His invention of stage thunder, of cloud effects realistically conceived, of the many mechanical devices for securing realism in stage effects, was in the realm of costume apparently paralleled by his desire to produce equally the illusion of reality. Of his realization of the artistic value of costume and scenery I shall speak later.⁵⁶

Giving full recognition to the work of the early realists from Aaron Hill to De Loutherbourg, we must still acknowledge that it is really to the Kembles that we owe the final prevalence of accuracy in matters of historical detail and local color on the English stage. Boaden sums up the state of affairs in 1785 at the time when John Kemble came into power:

Upon the London stage, nearly everything, as to correctness, was to be done. The ancient kings of England, or Scotland, or Denmark, wore the court dress of our own times, as to shape; and as to colour, the rival monarchs of England and France opposed their persons to each other in scarlet and gold-lace, and white and silver.

Kemble decided "that a grand and permanent attraction might be given to Drury Lane by increasing the power of Shakespeare." Boaden continues:

This he proposed to effect by a more stately and perfect representation of his plays—to attend to all the details as well as the grand features, and by the aids of scenery and dress to perfect the dramatic illusion.

La Clairon had already attempted something of the sort in Paris, the author adds.⁵⁷ In the words of Kemble's farewell speech at Drury Lane in 1817, his object had been throughout his career the establishment of "a union of pro-



²⁶ For the most complete record of De Loutherbourg, see Professor W. J. Lawrence, The Pioneers of Modern English Stage-Mounting: Phillips Jacques de Loutherbourg, R. A. in the Magazine of Art, XVIII: 172-178.

²⁶ Cf. Boaden, Life of Kemble, I: 279-285.

priety and splendour in the representation of our best plays, and particularly of those of the divine Shakespeare."

This object he sought to attain by the close study of antiquarian researches and artistic principles.

Commenting on the state of the theatre eight years later, Boaden again sums up the demands which Kemble had to meet:

Dress, too, was now become a matter of no slight moment; the costume was to be accurate, which was not expensive, and the materials were to be genuine, not imitation, which certainly was expensive, and very heavily so.**

Certainly Kemble gave more consideration to both aspects of the subject than had ever been given before. In general, he fixed the lines of development for the stage of the next century, and the stage during his time attained a dignity and splendor in its productions which had been undreamed of before.

With the name of John Kemble, however, there must always be associated that of William Capon, an artist and antiquary of note in his day. Capon worked with Kemble at Drury Lane after 1794, when at the opening of the new theatre it was decided to put all the splendor on the principal piece rather than on the after-piece as before; and later, when Kemble found himself with a free hand at Covent Garden in 1809, he engaged Capon as stage artist for that theatre likewise and entered upon an era of prodigal expenditure upon scenery and costume under his direction. It is generally conceded that it is to Capon, whose knowledge of antiquities and whose antiquarian zeal made him diligent in producing scenery characterized by accurate historical detail, that Kemble owed much of his interest in stage scenery and in stage costume.



⁸⁸ Quoted in J. F. Molloy's Life and Adventures of Edmund Kean (London, 1888) II: 30.

[∞] Boaden, Life of Mrs. Jordan, I: 254, 255.

[®] Cf. Foote, Horace, A Companion to the Thestres (1829), 124. For a more complete account of Capon's work, see Professor W. J. Lawrence's article, The Pioneers of Modern English Stage Mounting: William Capon, in the Magasine of Art, XVIII: 289-292.

Kemble's most extensive contributions at this stage were made in Roman plays. In fact, we find him again and again referred to as "that noble Roman." Doran says of him: "That his sympathies were classical, may in some sort be accepted from the fact, that he began his public life in 1776 -at Wolverhampton, with Theodosius, and closed it, at Covent Garden, in 1817, with Coriolanus." And again: "In one class of character Kemble was preeminent. 'the noblest Roman of them all.' His name is closely associated with Coriolanus, and next with Cato."61 says that he was most interested in the production of Roman And in general we see, I think, in Kemble's personal preference and in the general interest in Roman revivals which characterized the century the reason for the early insistence upon comparative accuracy in the dressing of Roman characters on the stage.

Curiously enough Kemble was apparently fearful of being taken for a dry-as-dust antiquarian in the manner of the modern college professor who fears to be "high-brow." Planché tells of a visit to Francis Douce which threw light on the subject:

This gentleman had assisted Mr. John Kemble when he introduced several alterations in the costumes of Shakespeare's plays, particularly those founded on Roman history; for which latter, however, he drew his materials from the columns and arches of the emperors, and not from the contemporaneous republican authorities. When urged to do so, and to "reform it altogether", he exclaimed to Mr. Douce, in a tone almost of horror, "Why, if I did, sir, they would call me an antiquary". "And this to me, sir!" said the dear old man, when he had told me of the circumstance, "to me, who flattered myself I was an antiquary"."

That it was left for Charles Kemble to bring about the reforms more timidly inaugurated by his brother is to be seen from the following account of events leading to the famous performance of *King John*. The account is taken from J. R.

²¹ Doran, l. c., II: 276, 277.

⁴³ Planché, J. R., The Recollections and Reflections of, (London, 1872), I: 54.

Planché's Recollections and constitutes one of the most significant of stage records:

In 1823 a casual conversation with Mr. Kemble respecting the play of "King John," which he was about to revive for Young, who had returned to Covent Garden, led to a step, the consequences of which have been of immense importance to the English stage. . . . I complained to Mr. Kemble that a thousand pounds were frequently lavished on a Christmas pantomime or an Easter spectacle, while the plays of Shakespeare were put upon the stage with make-shift scenery, and, at the best, a new dress or two for the principal characters. That although his brother John, whose classical mind revolted from the barbarisms which even a Garrick had tolerated, had abolished the bag wig of Brutus and the goldlaced suit of Macbeth, the alterations made in the costumes of the plays founded upon English history in particular, while they rendered them more picturesque, added but little to their propriety; the whole series, "King Lear" included, being dressed in habits of the Elizabethan era, the third reign after its termination with "Henry VIII.," and, strictly speaking, very inaccurately representing the costume even of that period. . . . It was decided that I should make the necessary researches, design the dresses, and superintend the production of "King John", gratuitously, I beg leave to say; solely and purely for that love of the stage. . . . Fortunately I obtained through a mutual friend, an introduction to Doctor, afterwards Sir Samuel Meyrick, who had just published his elaborate and valuable work, A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Arms and Armour, and was forming that magnificent and instructive collection now exhibiting at South Kensington . . . He entered most warmly and kindly into my views, pointed out to me the best authorities, and gave me a letter of introduction to Mr. Francis Douce, the eminent antiquary, from whom also I met with the most cordial reception.

Mr. Douce most liberally placed the whole of his invaluable collection of illuminated MSS. . . . at my disposal. He paid me also the great compliment of lending me his fine copy of Strutt's Dress and Habits of the People of England, coloured expressly for him by its author. . . Dr. Meyrick was equally kind and of great assistance to me, for of armour our artists and actors in those days knew even less than of civil costume. In the theatre, however, my innovations were regarded with distrust and jealousy. Mr. Faucett, the stage-manager, considered his dignity offended by the production of the play being placed under my direction. . . Mr. Farley also took huff. He was the recognised purveyor and director of spectacles, and dreaded "the dimming of

his shining star". The expenditure of a few hundred pounds on any drama, except an Easter piece or a Christmas pantomime, was not to be tolerated. "Besides", he piteously exclaimed, "if Shakespeare is to be produced with such splendor and attention to costumes, what am I to do for the holidays?" Never shall I forget the dismay of some of the performers when they looked upon the flat-topped chapeaux de fer (fer blanc, I confess) of the 12th century, which they irreverently stigmatized as stewpans! Nothing but the fact that the classical features of a Kemble were to be surmounted by a precisely similar abomination would, I think, have induced one of the rebellious barons to have appeared in it. They had no faith in me, and sulkily assumed their new and strange habiliments, in the full belief that they should be roared at by the audiences. They were roared at; but in a much more agreeable way than they had contemplated. When the curtain rose, and discovered King John dressed as his effigy appears in Worcester Cathedral, surrounded by his barons sheathed in mail, with cylindrical helmets and correct armorial shields, and his courtiers in the long tunics and mantles of the thirteenth century, there was a roar of approbation, accompanied by four distinct rounds of applause, so general and so hearty, that the actors were astonished, and I felt amply rewarded for all the trouble, anxiety, and annoyance I had experienced during my labours. Receipts for 400 to 600 pounds nightly soon reimbursed the management for the expense of the production, and a complete reformation of dramatic costume became from that moment inevitable upon the English stage."

And indeed this performance of King John in 1823 did mark the climax of the struggle for realism in stage costuming, a realism evidenced in the use of real materials and in strict adherence to historically accurate designs.

However, any account of the Romantic Movement on the stage which included only a history of the growth of realism would be altogether misrepresenting the true state of affairs. Just as elsewhere, the Romantic Movement in its later manifestations was revealed on the stage by a new interest in classical tradition. In costume this interest was revealed by a new emphasis on beauty of line and by the consequent use of materials adapted to drapery. That such a result was inevitable is at once evident when one remembers the supreme importance of the Herculaneum and Pompeii discoveries and



ª Ibid., 1: 52-57.

of the bringing of the Elgin marbles to England. The interest in sculpture evident in the forming of the societies which preceded the founding of the Royal Society is also to be considered, and likewise the translation in 1765 by Fuseli of Wincklemann's Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks.

John Kemble is said to have been much interested in Roman dress—as in all things Roman. Doran says of him: "I think, in the old Roman habit he was most at his ease; there, art, I am told, seemed less, nature more". And again he says, "He bore drapery with infinite grace". Boaden speaks of his fondness for Roman dress many times, and, indeed, the recognition of his appreciation of drapery is general among his biographers and critics.

However, Mrs. Siddons, rather than her brother, seems to have been the first to apply the lessons taught by Greek sculpture to the matter of stage costume. Her interest in sculpture probably was largely brought about through her friendship with the Honorable Mrs. Damer, a sculptress of some note in her own day. Speaking of the Kemble performance of *Coriolanus* in the season of 1788–89, Boaden says:

By a course of peculiar study, antiquity became better known to Mrs. Siddons; and Mr. Kemble also grew more completely Roman. Mrs. Damer had led her friend into admiration of the forms which she had modelled; and I presume it was from the display of that lady's talent, that the great actress became attached to the same pursuit. The application to statuary is always the study of the antique. It soon became apparent, that Mrs. Siddons was conversant with drapery more dignified than the shifting robes of fashion; and in truth her action also occasionally reminded the spectator of classic models. She had not derived this from any foreign theaters, for she had then seen none. Her attention to sculpture accounts for it satisfactorily.

Commenting on Mrs. Siddons in the season of 1791-92 Boaden again emphasizes the fact that her interest in statuary

[&]quot;Doran, l. c., II: 275, 276.

Boaden, Life of Kemble, I: 425.

had made an impression in regard to "simplicity of attire and severity of attitude". He continues,

The actress had formerly complied with fashion, and deemed the prevalent becoming; she now saw that tragedy was debased by the flutter of light materials, and that the head, and all its powerful action from the shoulders, should never be encumbered by the monstrous invention of the hair-dresser and the milliner.

In his life of the actress, Thomas Campbell also gives prominence to this interest of Mrs. Siddons. He says that in 1789 or 1790, Mrs. Siddons visited a shop in Birmingham, and unrecognized, bought a bust of herself. Deciding that she could do better herself, she took up modeling. He comments:

This circumstance lead her to study statuary; and I have no doubt was beneficial to her taste in drapery and acting. At the same time, I distinctly remember her telling me that predilection for the classic costume was anterior to this period, and that one evening, in the second season of her acting at Drury Lane, when she had dismissed the fashionable curls and lappetts, Sir Joshua Reynolds came up to her, after the play and rapturously praised the round apple form which she had given to her head."

Campbell also quotes from Mrs. Siddons her own account of this interest. She is reported to have made the following statement:

Sir Joshua often honoured me by his presence at the theatre. He approved very much of my costume, and of my hair without powder, which at that time was used in great profusion, with a reddish-brown tint, and a great quantity of pomatum, which, well kneaded together, modelled the fair ladies' tresses into large curls like demi-cannon. My locks were generally braided into a small compass, so as to ascertain the size and shape of my head, which, to a painter's eye, was of course an agreeable departure from the mode. My short waist, too, was to him a pleasing contrast to the long stiff stays and hoop petticoats, which were then the fashion, even on the stage, and it obtained his unqualified approbation.

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⁴⁸ Boaden, Life of Mrs. Siddons, II: 290, 291. In this place also Boaden comments on the fact that the French debased the classical mode to an approach to nakedness, and he commends the temperateness and beauty of Mrs. Siddons's modifications.

Campbell, Thomas, Life of Mrs. Siddons (London, 1834), II: 266, 267
 Ibid., I: 244, 245.

All who have written of their impressions of Mrs. Siddons have apparently noted her love for beauty of line and her consequent adapting of costume and gesture to secure the dignity and grace to be attained only by due regard for the preservation of the natural curves of the human body and the sweeping gestures of unhampered movement. When it is remembered that Mrs. Siddons was absolutely without a rival, that she stood unchallenged in her greatness, that other actresses took her as their model, and that, moreover, she represented the same interests that dominated the work of her brothers in their career as theatrical managers, it is easily seen how all-important was the interest in sculpture expressed in her own costume and in her action on the stage.

However, it was not a single influence, not even that of Mrs. Siddons's interest, that brought about new attention to the line of drapery. During these years when the Kembles dominated the London stage, the Academy leaders. Barry. Opie, and Fuseli, were giving utterance to theories regarding the importance of the study of Greek sculpture to the study of painting, and were stressing particularly the value of beauty of line. A perusal of their lectures will reveal the fact that just as costume on the stage came to express the tendency to preserve always the beauty of the natural curves of the body, to insist on beauty of line in drapery, and to value richness of texture in costume material, these ideas were finding their logical sponsors also among the leading Academicians. Hogarth had in 1753 insisted in his Analysis of Beauty on the value of gesture in obtaining restful and beautiful lines. Sir Joshua Reynolds had in his Discourses commented on the need for elevation and dignity in art. But in these later Academicians we find full and concrete analysis of these truths.69

According to his biographers, John Kemble was always interested in painting and painters. Boaden says that he made daily rounds of the studios of his friends. It is impossible not to think that the theories constantly discussed in relation

⁴⁰Cf. Lectures on Painting by the Royal Academicians: Barry, Opie, and Fuseli, Ed. by R. W. Wornum, London, 1848.

to their application to painting should also have seemed applicable to the art of the stage, an art which he considered as seriously from an aesthetic and philosophical point of view as ever painter considered his art.

This association with the artists of his time also apparently led Kemble to take interest in the presentation of the supernatural on the stage. 70 Of course, this interest in the supernatural was characteristic of the whole Romantic Movement. On the stage, however, only very inadequate and unconsidered treatment had been given to ghosts, witches, fairies, and elemental spirits until the treatment of such beings by Reynolds and Fuseli gave Kemble and his associates new ideas as to the possibilities of their presentation on the stage. said that Booth as the Ghost in Hamlet wore cloth shoes with cloth soles, so that "the sound of his step should not be heard on the stage, which had a characteristical effect".71 For many years during a later period the Ghost wore armor while the young Hamlet wore a modern suit.⁷² The witches of Macbeth wore varying, but unvaryingly inappropriate costumes. Mrs. Crouch wore "a fancy hat, powdered hair, rouge, point lace, and fine linen" when playing one of the witches in Macbeth, even while Kemble was manager in 1788-89. Boaden is inclined to justify her dress on the ground that there must have been some of the fallen spirits who could assume a beautiful appearance.

Besides [he says], I know not why the stage should refuse those aids of elegance and fancy, which that inimitable artist Sir Joshua Reynolds introduced in this very caldron scene in Macbeth, and the still bolder imagination of Fuseli constantly displayed when dress-

^{*}Fuseli was much interested in the presentation of the supernatural. His comment on the presentation of Macbeth sounds quite modern. (See Lectures, L. c., p. 454): "It is not by the accumulation of infernal or magic machinery, distinctly seen, by the introduction of Hecate and a chorus of female demons and witches, by surrounding him with successive apparitions at once, and a range of shadows moving above or before him, that Macbeth can be made an object of terror. To render him so you must place him on a ridge, his down-dashed eye absorbed by the murky abyss: surround the horrid vision with darkness, exclude its limits, and shear its light to glimpses".

¹¹ Cooke, Macklin, 16.

¹² Boaden, Life of Kemble, I: 104.

ing the gay creatures of the element, that "live in the colours of the rainbow." The group did not consist entirely of witches—spirits of the four elements mingled in the incantations."

The Dramatic Mirror records the performance of Macbeth which opened the new Drury Lane in the season of 1793-4.

The scenes were all new, and the witches no longer wore mittens, plaited caps, laced aprons, red stomachers, ruffs, etc., (which was the dress of those weird sisters, when Messrs. Beard, Champness, etc. represented them with Garrick's Macbeth), or any human garb, but appeared as preternatural things, distinguishable only by the feliness of their purposes and the fatality of their delusions. Hecate's accompanying spirit descended on the cloud, and rose again with her. In the cauldron scene, new groups were introduced to personify the black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey. The evil spirits had serpents writhing round them, which had a striking effect."

Boaden was much interested in the whole matter and insisted that the stage should in King Henry VIII. copy Fuseli's treatment of the scene depicting the dream of Queen Katherine. Boaden himself, he says, copied from Fuseli's notebook certain costumes for the 1798 performance of the Bards of Cambrai. And for the presentation of Mrs. Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest, dramatized by Boaden, the treatment of the spirit was based on that of Fuseli's picture of the Royal Dane published in Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery in 1803. The desired effect was secured by suspending gauze over a portal. A tall man with stately tread was secured for the ghost. "A dark blue grey stuff made in the shape of armour, and sitting close to the person furnished the costume"."

The increasing effectiveness of the stage treatment of supernatural beings was, of course, conditioned upon the better lighting of the stage and upon a greater variety of stage machinery. Indeed, if we are to trace the causes which led to

Boaden, Life of Kemble, I: 417, 418.

^{*}The Dramatic Mirror by Thomas Gilliland (London, 1808), I: 145.

¹⁸ Boaden, L c., II: 121.

[™] Ibid., II: 219.

[&]quot; Ibid., II: 96-98.

a new interest in costume and to a new realization of the value of costumes as an integral part of the stage picture, we must consider the physical changes of the stage during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To quote H. Barton Baker's History of the London Stage:

A drawing of the interior of Covent Garden, made about 1763, shows us a stage lit at the back by six chandeliers, each with twelve candles in brass sockets. Garrick abolished these at Drury Lane when he returned from the Continent, substituting concealed lamps in their place and introducing footlights.

With a stage half proscenium, and lit by candles, there was not much scope for scenic effects, nevertheless Garrick engaged the famous Dutch artist Loutherbourg, etc.**

In The Annals of Covent Garden Theatre is reproduced an old print—perhaps the one referred to by Mr. Baker, showing this old scheme of lighting. Professor Lawrence likewise describes the 1763 print which is reproduced in his article on De Loutherbourg. In explaining the significance of De Loutherbourg's contributions to the theatre, he says:

That the scenery of Garrick's earlier day was, for the most part, a vague and ill-lit setting, arose from the circumstance that the candle hoops were hung well to the front of the stage, which projected beyond the proscenium into the pit. Strictly speaking, the scenery of that era can hardly be dealt with as an integrant factor in the glamour of the playhouse, as the actors had invariably to step out of the picture in order to get into the focus.

In a word, the drama in 1770, as in the days of Shakespeare, was still a rhetorical, not an illusive or pictorial, art. De Loutherbourg did not reform all this, but in the course of a decade he paved the way for Kemble, who brought realistic detail and local colour to the theatre. Almost his first work at Drury Lane under Garrick was his introduction of a series of headlights or border battens behind the proscenium, at once depriving the actors of any excuse for stepping outside the picture beyond that of custom, and increasing the relative importance of the scenery by a flood of illumination."

However, it was not until the season 1817-18 that the London playhouses were illuminated by gas instead of candle

⁷⁸ Page 126.

[&]quot; Ibid., 128.

[■] Lawrence, l. c., 173.

light, and it is not until the advent of this less temperamental means of lighting the stage that the definite value of costumes as a part of scenic effect came to be recognized. However, with a stage so lighted and so arranged as to include the actors in the scene, and with lights which made possible the arrangement of the stage with a view to lights and shadows, color and texture in garments became important as well as the line of drapery; and the recognition of the unity in the scene gave to the stage artist and stage manager new conceptions of the stage picture.

To trace the history of stage costume from 1660 to 1823, then, is to discover that the stage depended for the possibility of its development upon the receipts from pit and boxes; that it shared the aesthetic theories of the time in common with all other arts: and that its artistic effects were conditioned by matters of construction and illumination.⁸¹ For a time after 1660 there was not much attention given to matters of costume on the English stage, save that certain traditions in regard to the dressing of particular characters were adhered to. There was no recognition of governing principles save that the better actor and the superior types of play deserved the better costumes. The first part of the eighteenth century, also, was a time of meagerness and shabbiness in the theatrical wardrobe; yet during these years Aaron Hill, Charles Macklin, and Sir John Hill were heralding the approach of a time when correctness and beauty should be sought on the stage in matters of dress. With the coming of Garrick the fat years of the theatres commenced, and it was possible gradually to answer the first demand of the Romantic Movement for realism by using more elegant materials in stage dresses. The demand for realistic presentation of historical detail and



⁸¹ I have recently consulted the work of Adolphe Julien, Histoire du Costume au Théâtre depuis les Origines du Théâtre en France jusqu'à nos Jours (Paris, 1880), and have been interested to find how definitely the history of the French theatre parallels that of the English. I can see no evidence, however, that in matters of costume the French stage was directly responsible for changes made in the English stage. Indeed, the changes are too nearly coincident and the French stage too often lags behind, to permit such an inference. Other causes seem to me adequate to account for the changes noted in any case.

local color in costume was only occasionally heeded, however, and in general resulted only in eccentricities and incongruities when a progressive actor attempted to carry out his the-The discoveries of the century, and the new impetus given to historical research resulted in the publishing of authoritative books of costumes after 1775. The new and improved lighting of the stage after 1765 gradually made possible the conception of the stage as a picture in which costumes and scenery must be regarded as one. Moreover, with the coming of John Kemble there was brought to the stage a new interest in accuracy and in splendor as well. The result was the designing and the execution of scenery and costumes under unified control. There was also during the Kemble régime a growing appreciation of classical beauty and a modification of costume designs to secure beauty of line. terest in the presentation of the supernatural was also evidenced. The work of John Kemble was carried to its logical conclusion under the management of Charles Kemble, who had the invaluable assistance of Planché, an artist and antiquary whose chief interest came to be in historical English costume.

In the early nineteenth century, then, we find in England, a Romantic stage insisting upon realism in costume, a realism based upon the accurate study of authority, but also a realism modified by the desire for beauty of the classical type. We find a stage conceived of as a picture in which scenery and costume unite to produce a single effect, a stage which, therefore, demanded a unified control in the design and execution of scenery and costume, a stage which demanded also costly productions under expert managers and an army of artists and craftsmen. And such a stage has been the dominant factor in determining dramatic effect until our very recent theorists are forcing us again to search the foundation principles of our art to discover whether after all there be any good thing and true in realism.

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B

JOSEPH FAWCETT: THE ART OF WAR

Its Relation to the Early Development of William Wordsworth

ARTHUR BEATTY

T

INTRODUCTORY

The early years of Wordsworth's life were very sparingly treated in the first biography of the poet. As this was the official, authorized biography, it had a tremendous influence in determining the attitude which succeeding biographers and critics took towards their subject and in defining their method of treatment. It is certain that papers and documents existed in abundance, which would have enabled the nephew biographer to give the history of these formative years in illuminating detail. But he did not choose to present the material in its original shape; he suppressed it almost entirely, using it almost wholly as texts for illuminating editorial comments. The writer of the authorized memoirs is a very judicious, capable writer, but his comments and interpretations are a very inadequate substitute for actual evidence; and the result of his example has been that the period of Wordsworth's life beginning with his graduation from Cambridge in 1791 and extending to his reunion with his "sole sister" Dorothy in 1795 is very imperfectly understood. The nephew may perhaps be said to have followed the example of the uncle, for the poet himself passed over the period very hastily and preserved silence regarding his "juvenile errors".2 By

¹ Memoirs of William Wordsworth, by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster, 2 vols., London, 1851.

² Prelude, XI: 54.

into a trade. "One part of the nation pays another part to murder and be murdered in their stead; and the most trivial causes, a supposed insult or a sally of youthful ambition, have sufficed to deluge provinces with blood."

Men deal in war largely because they fail to realize its horrors:

We can have no adequate idea of this evil, unless we visit, at least in imagination, a field of battle. Here men deliberately destroy each other by thousands without any resentment against, or even knowledge of, each other. The plain is strewed with death in all its various forms. Anguish and wounds display the diversified modes in which they can torment the human frame. Towns are burned, ships are blown up in the air while the mangled limbs descend on every side, the fields are laid desolate, the wives of the inhabitants exposed to brutal insult, and their children driven forth to hunger and nakedness. It would be despicable to mention, along with these scenes of horror, and the total subversion of all ideas of moral justice they must occasion in the auditors and spectators, the immense treasures which are wrung in the form of taxes from those inhabitants whose residence is at a distance from the scene."

Such a terrible monster is not to be lightly invoked, even in the most righteous cause. There are only two justifiable causes of war; "these are the defence of our own liberty and of the liberty of others." The last principle will not justify invasion of another's territory, "to force a nation to be free." But, when the people themselves desire it, it is virtue and duty to assist them in the acquisition." But, even though this is true, war is such an evil instrument, so evil in its very nature, "that it ought never to be selected as a means of promoting our best purposes, in any case in which selection can be practised." 18

Finally, the foster mother of Anarchy is despotism. De-

^{*} Political Justice, II: 516.

^{*} Op. oit., II: 516-517.

²⁸ Op. cit., II: 520.

² Op. cit., II: 520.

²⁷ Op. olt., II: 520.

²⁰ Op. cit., II: 525.

stroy despotism, and you destroy war and anarchy together. This is the final word of Reason on this theme:

It is to despotism that anarchy is indebted for its sting. If despotism were not ever watchful for its prey, and mercilessly prepared to take advantage of the errors of mankind, this ferment, like so many others, being left to itself, would subside into an even, clear, and delightful calms Reason is at all times progressive. Nothing can give permanence to error, that does not convert it into an establishment, and arm it with powers to resist an invasion."15

Such is a brief outline of the philosophy of one of Wordsworth's most influential teachers as applied to war,—a theme which interested the poet very deeply. Godwin gave to Wordsworth and to many another young poet his first glimpse into the democratic Utopia, and the spell remained with the poet long after he had repudiated the system. The memory of youthful enthusiasms which had found their full satisfaction in Godwin for a season was an illumination in the years of sober maturity:

Yet I feel
The aspiration, nor shall ever cease
To feel it.**

IV

JOSEPH FAWCETT, The Art of War, AND WORDSWORTH

Joseph Fawcett,²¹ or Fawcet, was born near Ware, in Hertfordshire, about the year 1758. He received his early education at Daventry Academy, a dissenting school. He continued his education at a dissenting theological seminary, and became a preacher near Ware. He seems to have been a rather influential man, if we are to judge by the testimony of a number of people, among whom are William Godwin, who



¹⁹ Op. cit., II: 549.

> The Prelude, XI: 255-259.

²² My account is based on the article on Fawcett in The Dictionary of National Biography.

met him at this place when they were both about the age of twenty-three, and remained his friend throughout life:

In my twenty-third year I became acquainted with the Rev. Joseph Fawcet, a young man of nearly my own age, one of whose favorite topics was a declamation against the domestic affections, a principle which admirably coincided with the dogmas of Jonathan Edwards, whose work I had read a short time before. Mr. Fawcet's modes of thinking made a great impression upon me, as he was almost the first man I had ever been acquainted with, who carried with him the semblance of original genius.²²

In this connection he pays this remarkable tribute to Fawcett:

The four principal oral instructors to whom I feel my mind indebted for improvement were Joseph Fawcet, Thomas Holcroft, George Dyson, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.**

In 1780 he became minister of the Old meeting-house at Walthamstow, Essex, and soon afterwards revived the evening lecture at the meeting-house in Old Jewry. He resigned Walthamstow in 1787, but carried on the lecture at Old Jewry until about 1795. He soon became known as a popular preacher, and "much distinguished himself",24 attracting to the Old Jewry "the largest and most genteel London audience that ever assembled in a dissenting place of worship."25 It is said that Mrs. Siddons and the Kembles attended the lectures frequently. The Gentleman's Magazine, a very hostile critic, speaks of Fawcett's "bombast"; but reviews his Sermon on the Propriety and Importance of Public Worship, published in 1790, as noteworthy by reason of its lack of the bitterness usually found in the pronouncements of dissenters on such matters, and goes on to recommend the sermon to persons of all ranks and denominations.26 Praise from Sylvanus Urban such as that indicates merit of a high sort on the part of a mere dissenter!

²² Paul, Charles Kegan, William Godwin: his Friends and Contemporaries, 2 vols., London, 1876, I: 17.

² Loc. cit.

²⁴ Gentleman's Magasine, 1804, 137.

[&]quot;Quoted in Dictionary of National Biography.

[≈] LXI, 1791, 245-246.

In 1795 Fawcett published a volume of Sermons, again characterized by The Gentleman's Magazine as "bombastic". In the same year he published his first poem, The Art of War, in a quarto volume, which we reprint in full; and in 1797 he published The Art of Poetry, under the pseudonym of "Sir Simon Swan." In 1798 he published a volume of Poems, which included The Art of War, under the title Civilized War, The Art of Poetry, and certain other poems which bear the mark of the new ferment in poetry.

In the Preface to this volume he gives an important place to his earliest poem, and speaks of it as follows, indicating clearly that the calamities of war to individuals and to nations occupied an important place in his thoughts:

However humble a place in the scale of poetic excellence his readers shall ultimately allot him, it will ever be a source of proud satisfaction to him to remember that the first poetical effort he submitted to the public eye was neither a simple attempt to amuse the fancy nor to amuse the heart, but an indignant endeavour to tear away the splendid disguise which it has been the business of poets in all nations and ages to throw over the most odious and deformed of all the practices by which the annals of what is called civilized society have been disgraced."

In 1800 he issued War Elegies, four years before his death in 1804. He died at Hedge Grove, near Walford, Hertfordshire, where he had resided as a farmer since his retirement from the Old Jewry in 1795.

In order to make the personality of Fawcett more distinct I will add one of the several testimonies given him by William Hazlitt:

The late Rev. Joseph Fawcett, author of The Art of War, etc. It was he who delivered the Sunday evening lectures at the Old Jewry, which were so popular about twenty years ago. He afterwards retired to Hedgegrove in Hertfordshire. It was here that I first became acquainted with him, and passed some of the pleasantest days of my life. He was the friend of my early youth. He was the first person of literary eminence, whom I had then known; and the conversations I had with him on taste and philosophy, (for

This passage is quoted by Harper, G. M., William Wordsworth, his Life, Works, and Influence, 2 vols. 1916, I: 262.

his taste was as refined as his powers of reasoning were profound and subtle), gave me a delight, such as I can never feel again.

The writings of Sterne, Fielding, Cervantes, Richardson, Rousseau, Godwin, Goethe, &c. were the usual subjects of our discourse, and the pleasure I had had, in reading these authors, seemed more than doubled. Of all the persons I have ever known, he was the most perfectly free from every taint of jealousy or narrowness. Never did a mean or sinister motive come near his heart. He was one of the most enthusiastic admirers of the French Revolution; and I believe that the disappointment of the hopes he had cherished of the freedom and happiness of mankind, preyed upon his mind, and hastened his death."

Wordsworth's connection with Faweett is clearly indicated by the records that he himself has left. In *The Prelude* he says that during his residence in London, probably during the period 1792–1793 mainly, the Pulpit's oratory did not fail to achieve its higher triumphs: yet,

Not unfelt

Were its admonishments, nor lightly heard The awful truths delivered thence by tongues Endowed with various power to search the soul.**

This passage refers to the preaching of Fawcett, as we see from the long introductory note to *The Excursion*, in the part in which Wordsworth gives the origin of the *Solitary*:

whom I had been connected, and who fell under my observation during frequent residences in London at the beginning of the French Revolution. The chief of these was, one may now say, a Mr. Fawcett, a preacher at a dissenting meeting-house at the Old Jewry. It happened to me several times to be one of his congregation, through my connection with Mr. Nicholson of Cateaton Street, who, at that time, when I had not many acquaintances in London, used often to invite me to dine with him on Sundays; and I took that opportunity (Mr. N. being a dissenter) of going to hear Fawcett, who was an able and eloquent man. He published a poem on

[&]quot;Life of Holoroft. For other tributes see, Table-Talk (On Criticism);
Political Essays (Character of Mr. Burke). Hazlitt, W. Carew, Memoirs
of William Haslitt, 2 Vols., London, 1872, contains a collection of Hazlitt's
opinions on Fawcett, with comments by the editor, I: 75-79.

**Book VII: 544-548.

war, which had a good deal of merit, and made me think more about him than I should otherwise have done.

Wordsworth's express mention of his indebtedness to Fawcett is made the more illuminating when we recollect that the influence of the preacher was exerted at the very time when the young poet was under the first absolute domination of Godwin and his system of absolute human reason and justice which would teach the nations not to make war any more.

V

The Art of War as a Representative Poem

I have spoken of *The Art of War* as a representative poem, in that it represents the characteristic attitude towards war on the part of those who sympathized with the democratic intentions of revolutionary programme. But it is representative also in that it represents a considerable number of poems partially or wholly on the theme of war, written for the most part by members of the Wordsworth group, or by persons who had directly or indirectly come into contact with him or with some member of his group, and between 1790 and 1798. Wordsworth's part in this activity has been partially indicated; but for a full record we must add *Ruth*, 1799, and *Her Eyes are Wüd*, 1799, and the noble record of the effect of the war on his mind from day to day as set down in *The Prelude*.³⁰

Coleridge deals with this theme abundantly in both prose and verse, the most complete exposition of the subject being given in the essay On the Present War, February, 1795.³¹ In verse he treated the theme in Religious Musings (Lines 159-197 and Note), 1794; in The Destiny of Nations (Lines 238-252), 1796; in the Ode to the Departing Year, 1796; in The Old Man of the Alps, 1798; in France, an Ode, 1798; and in the bitter satire on Pitt, Fire, Famine, and Slaughter, 1798.

³⁰ Book XI, especially lines 105-205.

[&]quot; Essays on His Own Times, I: 29-55.

Robert Southey contributed to the treatment of the theme of war in The Soldier's Funeral, The Soldier's Wife, and The Soldier's Epitaph, 1795; The Sailor's Mother, and The Battle of Blenheim, 1798.

It is perhaps hard on Fawcett to compare him with the other members of this group with whom he came into living contact, and to whom he gave as much as he received. other members were poets, and he was not. As regards poetic form, he adheres to all the practices of the eighteenth century school of poetic diction, and is entirely unconscious of the new tendencies towards poetic reform. He appeals almost exclusively to the sense of sight in his figures, and makes almost as lavish a use of personification as had Wordsworth in his juvenile poems, The Evening Walk and Descriptive Sketches. Nevertheless, in spite of its shortcomings as a poem. The Art of War is more representative of the antimilitary class of poetry than any of the other poems in this group, in that it expresses almost as passionately the new humanitarianism as Guilt and Sorrow or the Ode to the Departing Year, and at the same time supplies more completely than these, or than any other, the philosophical grounds upon which the friends of liberty and democracy would expel Mars the god of war from the temple wherein they worshipped as the worst enemy of both themselves and of the cause which they had nearest to their hearts.

VI

THE TEXT OF The Art of War

It is interesting that the present poem was published by the famous publisher Joseph Johnson (1738–1809), at his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. Johnson published for many authors of a revolutionary tendency or of revolutionary connections, such as Joseph Priestley, John Thelwall, and Horne Tooke. In 1797 he was imprisoned for nine months and fined £50 for publishing a pamphlet by Gilbert Wakefield, a theologian too

advanced for the time. He was also the publisher for Mrs. Barbauld, William Cowper, and Erasmus Darwin; and issued the first two poems of William Wordsworth. For many years he was looked upon as the dean of the English publishers.

The Art of War had apparently no very great circulation. There is a copy in the British Museum; and apparently only one copy in America, at the Harvard Library. By the courtesy of the authorities of the Harvard Library this copy is used in reproducing the poem, which is faithfully reprinted verbatim et literatim, with a few comparative notes. The lines are not numbered in the original.

THE

ART OF WAR.

A POEM.

By JOSEPH FAWCET.

	Lady.	Out	, damn	ed fpot, o	ut, I	ſay	••••	•••	•••••	••••	• • • •
of th	e blood	Ain:	all the	e perfume	s of .	Arabia	will	not	(weeten	this	little
hand	. Ob	, oh,	ch.								

Doll. What a figh is there? the heart is forely charged,

MACRETE.

LONDON:

PRÍNTED FOR J. JOHNSON, No. 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1795.

THE ART OF WAR

[P. 3] LIFE, thou strange thing! That hast a power to feel Thou art, and to perceive that others are! Shyest of secrets! that for ever shun'st Our fond research, curtain'd in thickest shade! Thou moving mystery! that canst or move 5 Or stop at pleasure! Curious mechanism! Whose spring is spirit, and whose action, will! Warm conscious wax, on which all passing things, Series of seals, successive impress make Of pleasure or of pain! imperial mark, 10 By which the frame almighty fingers form'd, Is known from moving systems made by man! Eminent work! which all the sons of skill, From every clime conven'd, could ne'er, with all Their hand's collected cunning, emulate! 15 [P. 4] Invention all divine! In the dull worm More brilliant workmanship, than all the domes Proud swelling, and with pomp of pillars dress'd, And all the witty engines, human Craft Hath e'er constructed!-If I find thy throb, 20 Thou salient wonder! in the meanest thing, Victim of Custom's crush,-ere I put forth My power to tread thee out, my soul is seiz'd With a restrictive awe, that bids me hold-And asks me, ere I end, what I with ease 25 Can end, but not with all my power renew, If what is urg'd as reason for the act, Will justify th' infliction of my foot.

Driv'n by what demon is the hand, that dares

To quench thy flame, where the all quick'ning breath

80

Hath up to reason blown it? where thy beats

Can high as virtue heave and kindle heav'n,

That dares arrest the rolling of that eye,

O'er all surrounding things that curious roves;

That loves the sky, uplifts its look sublime,

The stars peruses, and can clearly read,

In nature's various volume round it spread,

In radiant letters writ, the NAME DIVINE?

When the first man found his first murder'd son, Stretch'd bruis'd and breathless on the gory ground, 40 [P. 5] At whose unnatural end, to nature new, Blood's eldest cry to heav'n, pale Fancy paints Eclipse and earthquake, groanings under ground, Sore fighting winds, and general signs of woe Thro' nature's works; -stunn'd with astonishment, 45 With horror stiff as he on whom he bent His eye's wild glare; in doubt, or if he dream'd A dreadful thing, or if a waking woe O'erwhelm'd his soul, I see the statue stand! Struck by the dead with temporary death. 50 Each vital motion makes a fearful pause! Each hair stands up, and every pulse stands still! By mimic pencil, or by magic pen. Inimitable marble of amaze! There, froze with fatal terror, he had stood 55 For ever fix'd, by the cold horror held For ever fast, nor more releas'd to life By th' unrelenting ice—had he then known. That most inhuman and most monstrous deed,— Of stormiest passion born, with wildness done, 60 And first-seen, swift-seiz'd weapon, when no eye Witness'd its horror,—was ordain'd to be The settled practice of his progeny! By his mad children methodiz'd to art! Nam'd Noble Science! in the number rank'd 65 Of fair-reputed callings, thick that throng [P. 6] The door of active life, and court the choice Of doubtful youth! among the paths that lead To Fame's high fane, among the Muse's themes Plac'd eminent in front! no deed of night 70 That seeks disguise; ambitious of the day! Provok'd and spurr'd by the inspiring thought, "All eyes shall see me!" Gracefully perform'd, With beauteous instruments from whose bright face 75 The beams of day rebound gay blazing back; With no infurlate look, no quaking nerve, But with sedate unruffled feature done! Nor stinted to one solitary act! By multitude on multitude committed!

Like some distemper'd dream, that only shows

Strange monstrous shapes, and all things represents

Turn'd upside down, in wild confusion tost,

War, thy wild picture to mine eye appears!

	Am I awake? or is this world, so long That to my mind substantial stuff hath seem'd, Unreal apparition? painted air? Mad Fancy's work, while troubled slumber binds My feverish frame in anxious rest reclin'd?	85
[P. 7]	And shall I soon to sober certainty Of other and of fairer scene arise, (Soon as th' oppression from my brain hath past) And, recollecting these fantastic forms That long have mock'd me, to my fellows tell, How strange a vision visited my sleep?	90
	See yon pavilion'd Council sitting round Serene and solemn! mind illuming mind! Reason's confederated rays thrown out In intellectual alliance firm!	95
	Say wherefore meets the ring of rationals, With light collective luminous?—to frame Some fair and beauteous plan of public good With legislative wisdom?—or to seek, With philosophic amity of soul,	100
	Where Science, coy recluse, conceal'd resides? No, not for this the sapient circle sits! You tent is the dire cabinet of Death! Insatiate sovereign! with the scythe of Time Unsatisfied, that craves th' assistant sword! Those are his ministers! in ruin wise;	105
	Sages of slaughter; devastation's seers; Doctors of desolation!—Yonder, lo! At work mechanic Wit! by whom weak man His might extends and finds in knowledge pow'r! The lucid labour free!—Is it to aid	110
[P . 8]	Benignant manufacture? to uplift, Commerce, aloft in air thy weighty wealth? Life's fair conveniences to swell, and more Accommodate accommodated man?— Dire, dire reverse! fall'n Ingenuity,	115
	Depray'd, degenerate from her native sphere, On tragic engines her lost genius spends; And, cruelly acute, pursues alone Discoveries of death!—distracted Art, Whose lovely office 'tis to emulate	120
	Nature in bounties and in smiles alone, With her severities perversely vies! Storms She invents! inclemencies contrives!	125

	JOSEPH FAWCETT: THE ART OF WAR	241
	And teaches Weakness to be terrible. 'Tremendous mimic of the tempest, man Copies th' artillery of angry Jove,	130
	Around him artful clouds and darkness rolls, To lighten learns, to forge and fling his bolts, While thousands at a stroke his thunders rive, And blasted towns before his flashes fall!	
	Or, bowel'd in the earth, he latent breeds The crafty earthquake, subterranean rage Ingenious gend'ring! In the hollow hell His hands have scoop'd with dark infernal fraud,	185
	Disposing death,—the imitative pest, Industrious scholar of malignant things,	140
[P. 9]	Studious essays, and terribly attains, To shake the strong foundations of the ground, Strew it with wide-spread wreck, and emulate The final ruin!—View yon vehicles,	
	Whose wondrous road is through the world of waves; That give to eager man the morning's wings; Whose cordage complicate and canvas-craft Compel the air to push 'em on their way,	145
	And make the winds their spur! Mansions immense! Whose swelling walls a multitude inclose, Yet light and volant gliding, as the fowl That sail the firmament! Of human skill The prodigy and pride! Fram'd to convey	150
	Social mankind remote mankind to meet, To know, to love, t' enlighten and to help! To bear from shore to shore, in fair supply, Of earth and mind the produce! fruits and truths In beauteous amity commute, and make	155
	The world but one!—Behold! distracting scene! The floating houses of the sea, arrang'd In adverse rows, advance! the moving streets Each other meet! ah! with no friendly front! Freighted with thunder, they are come to hold	160
	Commerce of deaths! to show the astonish'd seas Such tempest as the winds ne'er blew! to teach The tame commotion of the elements How ships to shatter! to out-roar, out-spit	165
[P. 10]	All air-brew'd storms, and in derision mock Their modest madness, meek, insipid scene Of sober tumult!—See all Nature's gifts, Given but for good, made instruments of ill! From the dug earth educ'd, behold that ore, 16	170
	•	

	Of mignest worth, in richest plenty givin,	
	His bounty such who stock'd the ball He built,	
	Of friendly edge susceptive, form'd to serve,	17
	With smooth incision, useful Art's fair ends,—	
	See its fine point employ'd, ah! not to fetch	
	Forth from the furrow'd earth the golden bread;	
	Call copious Plenty o'er her vales to laugh;	
	Or prune with economic cut away	180
	Her wasteful growth;—but, amputation foul!	10(
	Lop human life, and with an impious edge	
	With purple dropping, plough the flesh of man!	
	Behold the heav'n-born element, bestow'd	
•	The genial friend of generous health to glow,	185
		10(
	The social hearth to animate, supply	
	Our absent suns, and gaily gild the house	
	Of harmless pleasure!—see it turn'd against	
	Life's lovely flame! th' excited spirit see,	
	Collision call'd, springs sparkling from his cell,	190
	To dart the nitrous wrath, the red-hot death,	
	To youth's light heart, and stop the bounding life!	
	To bid the broken bone long time be rack'd	
	In the dread house of Pain! with bursting rage	
[P. 11]	Upward an heap of shatter'd bodies shoot,	195
	From earth exploded to the sky! fair piles	
	That slowly rose, uprear'd by patient toil,	
	With furious haste lay low! or with harsh heat,	
	Unlike his fire's, the gently piercing sun,	
	Sear the fair fruitage his bland beams had nurs'd,	200
	And his mild fervours mellow'd into food!	
	With fierce unfilial force (how much misus'd!	
	Child of life's cherisher!) his waving work	
	Impious undo, consume the yellow year,	
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	205
	And beauteous Ceres to a cinder change!	200
	No bound th' abuse obeys!—hark! the sweet voice,	
	The voice of music floats along the air!	
	Music! ætherial magic! heavenly breath!	
	Thou good and pleasant amity of sounds,	
-	In sweet association kindly met,	210
•	For gentlest ends in silver union join'd!	
•	The giddy dance of festive Joy to guide;	
	Languid Dejection's hanging head uplift;	
	Bid from the brow of Care the cloud begone;	
	Sooth the sweet woe of melancholy Love;	215
	Hush Envy's hiss; unknit the frown of Rage	
	With all subduing sweetness; softly sad,	

P. 12] Virtue's strong raptures to a rage divine! But where will profanation stay,—E'en thee, O heavenly Harmony! their press hath seiz'd With impious gripe! Reluctant, struggling maid, Sprung from the silent sphere! with wild affright, Thou find'st thee fallen on a frantic orb. Outrageous wrest! perversion most perverse! Misapplication monstrous! Horror, say, When bristles most thine hair; when, wild with woe, In anguish Madness laughs, or, on his way, And at his work accurst, when Murder sings? Hark! the sweet art, to sooth the savage fram'd,	320
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And at his work accurst, when Murder sings? Hark! the sweet art, to sooth the savage fram'd,	230
Hark! the sweet art, to sooth the savage fram'd,	
•	
On savage errand sent! to indurate	
Humanity, misled to iron scenes.	
Who to unmartial softness else might melt:	235
Tune her to stone, and give her strength to stab!	
To send its blood back to Fear's bleaching cheek.	
Unwarm'd by virtue's into valour's heat,	
And to a wild and drunken daring drive her,	
By sound's mechanic spur! to reconcile	240
The death devoted victim to the knife!	
Cheering ambition's sacrifice to bleed,	
Uncheerful else; with luring notes entic'd	
Recoiling to comply!—How have they join'd	
Most heterogeneous and unmixing things!	245
Making according sounds accompany	
[P. 13] Wild Discord's wildest scene! where mad mankind,	
That in the city 'gainst each other strike	
In endless strife, with roughest jostle jar!	

What mean these showy and these sounding signs
Of general joy, my senses that salute?
That bid my brow be smooth, and bosom bound,
And all my heart be holiday?—What means
The cannon's roar that rends the shatter'd sky?
The stunning peal the merry steeples pour?
At dead of night, along the starry street,
This flaring luxury of festive light,
From every window flung?—Wherefore thus laughs
The hour of gloom?—Now that "the midnight bell
Doth with his iron tongue and brazen mouth
Strike one,"—why walks abroad the undrowsy world?

[P. 14]	Night's ghosts, and goblins, groans and shadows dire All shone away, that e'en unshudd'ring walks Bold Superstition forth? why is "proud Night, Attended with the pleasures of the world, Thus all so wanton and so full of gawds?" What fair event, to polish'd bosoms dear, In polish'd life inspires this pomp of joy?—Say, hath the African fair freedom found? Spite of his shade at length confess'd a man, Nor longer whipp'd because he is not white?—That were a jubilee for heav'n to join; To extort the gelid hermit from his cell;	265 270
	Inflame his brook-fed blood, and force him bring	
	His sober foot to swell the city rout,	275
	With Virtuous riot reeling, and with joy	
	Gloriously giddy!—But 'tis not for this,	
	Tis not for this, the midnight vies with noon.	
	Sing Io Paean, Io Paean sing!—	280
	Thousands of pulses, high with health that leap'd,	
	Whose sprightly spring, to Time's oppression left,	
	Or to Disease's weight, had play'd perhaps	
	A length of years, by speedier fates laid still,	
	Ne'er to go on again, or stir, have stopp'd.—	285
	On you blest sun, all as a bridegroom gay,	
	Whom to behold it is a pleasant thing	
	For every eye; who gives the painted globe	
	This pomp of colour and this beauteous bloom;	
	A multitude (th' ecstatic tidings tell)	29 0
	A multitude of eyes, at which the heart	
	Look'd laughing out upon the day, are clos'd.—	
	On his delicious light (transporting thought!)	
	They never more shall look!—Illume, illume	
	The glowing street! nor let one window rob	295
	The general rapture of a ray it owes!	
rn 161	Religion joins the joy:—of those fair works,	
[P. 15]	Which He, whose wondrous wisdom all things made,	
	Made in his image, or defacement foul, Or fatal rent (more lights, more lights emit!)	300
	A myriad has received.—This is th' event,	300
	The fair event to polish'd bosoms dear.	
	In polish'd life that lights this pomp of joy.	
	For this the cannon's thunder thumps the ear;	
	For this their merry peal the steeples pour;	305
	For this their merry pear the steepies pour;	440

For this dun Night her raven hue resigns,

And, in this galaxy of tapers prank'd,

Mimics meridian day!—hence the high joy

That calls the city's swarms from out their cells,

Laughs in each eye, and dances in each heart,

Prolongs their vigils, and shakes off the dews

That hovering Sleep from off her wings lets fall

On their light lids, that will not let lie on 'em

The poppy drops, the high excitement such!

All to the feast, the feast of blood! repair.

315

The high, the low, old men and prattling babes,

Young men and maidens, all to grace the feast,

Light-footed trip,—the feast, the feast of blood!

But here comes one that seems to out-rejoice

All the rejoicing tribe! wild is her eye, 320 And frantic is her air, and fanciful Her sable suit, and round she rapid rolls Her beauteous eyes upon the spangled street. [P. 16] And drinks with greedy gaze the sparkling scene, And, "See!" she cries, "how they have grac'd the hour That gave him to his grave! hail, lovely lamps! In honour of that hour, a grateful land Hath hung aioft!—and sure he well deserves The tributary splendour-for he fought 330 Their battles well—Oh! he was valour's self! Brave as a lion's was my Henry's heart! Fierce was the look with which he fac'd the foe; But on his Harriet when my hero bent it, "Twas so benign!—and beautiful he was— And he was young—too young in years to die— 335 'Twas but a little while his wing had thrown Its guardian shadow o'er me-but 'tis gone-Fall'n is my shield-Yet see now if I weep-A British warrior's widow should not weep-Her hero sleeps in honour's fragrant bed-340 So they all tell me-and I've nobly learn'd Their gallant lesson—all my tears are gone— Bright glory's beam has dried them every drop! No, no, I scorn to weep-high is mine heart! Hot are mine eyes! there's no weak water there! 345 "Tis true, I should have joy'd—what mother would not? To have shown him that sweet babe, o'er which he wept When last he kiss'd it—yes he did—he wept!

My warrior wept! as the weak woman's tears

[P. 17] From off this cheek, where now I none can feel, 350 He kiss'd away, he wet it with his own.— Oh! yes it would—'twould have been sweet t' have shown How this dear levely boy had grown, since he Beheld it cradled, and t' have bid it call him By the sweet name that I had taught it utter 355 In softest tones, while he was thunder hearing. And thunder hurling round him-for his hand Would not be idle amid deeds of glory-Yes-glory, glory, glory is the word-See! how it glitters all along the street!" 360 And then she laughs and wildly leaps along With tresses all untied.—Fair wretch! adieu!

In mercy Heav'n thy shatter'd peace repair!

Mankind, wild race! have been your moons to blame, Thro' all your races that this rage hath run? 365 That this demoniac, worse than dog-star madness 'Mong all your nations, in each age hath foam'd? E'en elemental strife far greater love, Than ye have shown, of beauteous Peace displays! Proportion'd to the periods of their wrath, 370 For more protracted intervals your seas Abstain from tempest; —your less angry skies With greater length of season are serene; In your wild forests the loud bestial rage 375 [P. 18] Suspends its roaring longer, than have paus'd Your death-denouncing trumpets; than your arms Have ceas'd their savage din; o'er the lull'd world Than ye have let the lovely olive hang Its comely leaf: and suffer'd Janus' fane, 380 Jallor of War, the gnashing flend to hold! Full soon th' impatient prisoner's brazen bonds From off the fretting fury ye have knock'd, And speedy mercy to his malice shown! Who that stands still, and fixes on the fact 385 His thoughtful eye, and doth not feel his sense Swim round with wonder, and his soul lie hush'd In the dead stilness of astonishment? That this amazing maniac rage hath been, Not of some single race th' eccentric crime, 290 For following ones to rise and wonder at, By some peculiar and uncommon cause To this wild start from Nature's orbit stung,

	JOSEPH FAWCETT: THE ART OF WAR	247
	Struck by some stranger star's erratic wrath With strange distraction;—no brief flighty fit;— From men's accustom'd line a single leap; Transient distortion of their standing state; From their staid usage one wild shoot aside;	3 95
[P. 19]	By strong distemper's paroxysm inspir'd, Some all-infecting fever's fierce excess, When at its hottest and brain-burning height; But a fix'd phrenzy;—of their dreadful way The steady tenour; the deep scarlet shame	400
	On Reason's redden'd cheek, bidding burn on Thro' rolling ages, an establish'd blush! Protracted tragedy! as long as deep! Whose unspent horror thro' all time hath spun The tale of blood! O'er history's lengthening course The vein of persevering fury runs;	405
	And he that reads its pages, rightly calls 'em Records of Carnage, Chronicles of Blood!	410
	If to uncultivated life confin'd Had been the barb'rous custom, there alone	
	Its horror had Humanity inspir'd With less amazement.—The wild Indian's war But little wonder raises! He in man Sees not what man contains, his magazine Of latent mind, the folded faculties	415
	Whose furled leaves the wondrous gem inwraps! In man no more than muscle he discerns! Unpiercing to the chambers of his breast, He o'er his sinewy surface rolls his eye, And, deeming all his strength in bulk and bone, In heatel force concludes his silver.	420
[P. 20]	In brutal force concludes his glory lies. Pent in the little circle of his tribe, With fierce intemperate rage his friendship flames! Beyond that narrow prison of his love, That bounded burns intense, with equal heat His hatred burns! Tempestuous passion bears	425
	His footsteps to the fight; his going forth To scenes of blood is the wild gush of rage! Himself a dart, with inward fury wing'd, He shoots to battle, bolts into the field, And whom his hand destroys, his heart detests! Mild Reason grouns to view their wild-fought field.	430

Their bestial rage and revelry in death, Their blood-stain'd teeth and trample on the slain, 435

	In ecstasy of rage their roll in blood,	
	And all the lawless phrenzy of their fight.	
	Afflicted wisdom weeps that forms erect,	
	Which might be men, should be no more than brutes;	440
	But, being what they are, she marvels not	
	That furious thus each other they devour.	
	The scene she gases with a wild amase,	
	O'er which she shivers agued and aghast,	
	Doubting her sense! incredulous she lives!	445
	Is the cool carnage of the cultur'd world!	
	In the cold cabinet all calm conceiv'd!	
	And with cold skill, and blood that boils not, wreak'd!	
	War's rul'd, methodic, mathematic fields,	
	Where fate in geometric figures frowns.	450
	Curiously stern! a low'ring diagram!	
[P. 21]	Where sober warriors, in square array,	
[With science kill, with ceremony slay,	
	Thunder with apathy, and thin mankind	
	With looks compos'd, in rows compact arrang'd!	455
	A tranquil tragedy! where battle trick'd,	100
	Bedecks destruction, and makes ruin gay!	
	In spruce parterre where tulip terrors stand,	
	A scene of splendid horror! while o'er all	
	The field's dire slaughter "peaceful thought" presides!	460
	Wit, beauteous spirit! wheels the cunning war,	300
	Instructs horrific Mars which way to rush,	
	And shows the devilish engines where to belch	
	Their flery bolts!—This is the dreadful scene.	
	Acted on lib'ral Europe's lucid stage;	468
	Where man is known for what he is, for more	TUL
	Than meets the eye, a mine of inward wealth,	
	That asks but to be dug and into day	
	Drawn out, a splendid treasure to display	
		470
	Of golden joys, and sterling happiness!	7/1
	Where moral glories strike Conception's eye;	
	Where peaceful laurels court Ambition's hand;	
	Where Reason's, Virtue's victories, invite	
	Th' aspiring breast; and thousand varied joys	
	Make life delightful and its calms endear!	475
	This is the scene, the gallop of the blood	
	Whose horror stops, and bids the current creep!	
[P. 22]	This placid sweep of human life away,	
	In human life where so much worth is seen!	
	These chess-board battles, where unpassion'd men,	480
	Like things of wood, by them that thoughtful play,	

Are mov'd about, the puppets of the game!

These sober whirlwinds of the polish'd world,

That not from passion's tempest take their rage,

Blown by cold Interest by calm Art bestrid;

On whose broad wings, director of their way,

Afflicting image! form'd in other scenes

And fairer far to soar, ah much mis-spher'd!

Bright GENIUS rides the Angel of the Storm.

490 Civiliz'd war!-How strangely pair'd appear These words in pensive Rumination's ear! Civiliz'd war!-Say, did the mouth of man, Fantastic marrier of words, before, Two so unmatch'd, so much each other's hate, With force tyrannic, ere together yoke? 495 Civilis'd war!—THANKS, gentle Europe! thanks, For having dress'd the hideous monster out, And hid his nature in so soft a name, That weak, hysterical Humanity Might hear with less of horror, he is loose. 500 Hail monster clipt! shorn of his shaggy mane. His horrid front with flow'rs and ribbands prank'd, Smooth, playful monster! Mixing with the roar Of forest-rage the city's polish'd smile! That with a mild and christian calmness kills, 505 That with more method tears his mangled prey, And, as the copious draught of blood he swills, Disclaims the thirst the while! Thanks, thousand-fold, Ye gay adorners of the tragic scene! Thanks, in the name of all the friends of man, 510 That ye have thus their shuddering appeas'd; And, piteous of their tender texture, giv'n Their spirits, apt to startle, calm to flow, Forth from its scabbard when your wisdom calls The slumb'ring sword, and bids its sabbath close! 515 Thanks, in the name of all the tremulous tribe. Too sensitive, the grateful Muse accords you; That ye have beautified the frowns of war And given his grimness graces, have found out Politer slaughter, and genteely learn'd 520 To lay more elegantly waste the world, That ye have murder humaniz'd, discover'd Mischief's most handsome modes, and taught mankind With decent order to destroy each other! Of all, whose hearts your battles have bereav'd. 525

[P. 23]

[P. 24]	The blessing comes upon you! Robb'd by wars So gently wag'd, of them beneath whose shade Of shelt'ring power their shielded weakness sat, With looks of peace and love, pale widows sing.	
	In grateful songs, the tender spoilers sing! The fatherless their filial sorrows wipe, Forget their woes and join the just acclaim! E'en the lorn virgin, in the slain's long list Whose eye fell fearful on her lover's name,	530
	O'er whose wan cheek, where beauty's roses grew, Grief spreads its green, prophetic of her grave, Some sickly smiles of gratitude shall wear, And hush some sighs, to swell the grateful song! All, all the mourners that ye make shall bless	535
	Your mildly, amiably murderous deeds! For much it sooths the sorrows of their soul, For much it balms the bruises of their breast, That they, in whom the battle's fury reach'd Their rent affections, fell in polish'd fields;	540
	By softer hands, than whom the hatchet hacks In barb'rous battle; that a smoother death From finer points and glossier arms they took; And if they perish'd, perish'd by the sword, Heart-healing thought! of fair civility!	548
[P. 25]	Opprest with indignation, be the Muse Forgiv'n, if she forget to sacred grief The rev'rence due, and to her serious theme; Seeking, in laughter, from her load of pain Some little ease; for she hath long time lain	550
[1. 20]	Beneath the suffocating weight, as thus The civil actor in this savage scene, Europe's refin'd barbarian hath declaim'd. "How horrible the unrelenting rage And the coarse rudeness of unmanner'd Mars!	555
	How smooth a front our comelier battle wears! Lo! in our milder field the lovely form Of Mercy sits by Valour's side, and oft Hangs on his hand and holds its fury down."— It is this mildness, to the moral eye	560
	So far from soft'ning the hard crime of war, That proves the sanguinary practice guilt, And stamps the carnage murder.—Say, what priest, Sent to prepare a dungeon'd wretch to die	56

For having ta'en his brother's breath away,

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	Would not infer, remorse had made him mad, To hear the villain seek his vice to wash With words like these?—"Far fouler criminals The woods than me contain. The wolf is worse;	570
•	How furiously he lacerates the flock! With what a rage the panther rends his prey!	5 75
	Mark the fierce leopard tear his mangled meal! I with much mercy murder'd whom I slew!	
	With one, but one, one well-directed wound I gave him end; or with a drug disguis'd,	
[P. 26]	To drowsy death that woo'd his soul away,	580
	I lull'd, without or pain or fear, his sense	-
	In bland oblivion."—No; ye shall not thus,	
	Sons of Civility! ye shall not thus	
	Your darkness cloak! This varnish of your vice	
	Is evidence against you: your excuse	5 85
	Accuses you, and by your boast ye prove	
	Your blame.—That after blood ye do not pant, Shows horrible your guilt in shedding it.	
	No moral turpitude the tiger's tooth,	
	Though stain'd with homicide, contracts.—By man	590
	The maniac's blood is spar'd, the blood of man	
	Whose rage hath shed. And the wild man of war,	
	Whose dormant unexcited intellect	
	Beholds in human nature but an arm,	
	Of brute-ambition susceptive alone,	59 5
	Who wields his brainless brawn in cleaving sculls	
	Vacant of mind as is his own, whose heart Hydropic burns for blood, and lion-like	
	Who hungers for his foe, although his deeds	
	Are dire, no moral indignation lights	600
	In gentle Wisdom's breast. The very rage	•••
	And hard unmelting rigour of his field,	
	His grappling battle, greediness of blood,	
	His fiend-like yell, his hatchet and his club,	
	His scalping wrath, carnivorous victory,	605
	That eats in ecstasy the hostile fiesh,	•
[P. 27]	That drinks hot blood, with boundless vengeance dru And all th' excesses of his frantic war,	nk,
	While horror they excite, extinguish blame:	
	The more we shudder, we the more forgive.	610
	The frightful butchery of his battle tells,	J-7
	However hideous, it is honest havoc;	
	That, thus to act, he thinks, is to be man.	
	His barb'rous ethics know no moral worth	

•	pare minitary might. To ure rude Alem	RTD
	Victory is virtue. Piously he tells	
	His triumphs as his titles to the sky.	
	His talents are his arrows and his axe,	
	Sole means of earning heav'n. In chopping down	
	Another foe, a fresh degree, he deems,	620
	His hand hath added to his bliss above.	
	He heaps the slain, that he may hunt in heav'n	
	With sport immortal; or for scaly game	
	Search with divine success celestial streams.	
	In slaughter placing thus his excellence.	625
	With wild, unsated rage he slays.—But, where	
	Fair Mercy mixes in the fight, 'tis proof	
	Reason is in the field; Reason, that reads	
	The error of the scene, and just to judge	
	Its impious acts, rebukes the busy sword.	630
	Though there her voice the din of battle drowns,	000
	And though the spells of Prejudice prevail	
[P. 28]	Her mouth to muffle, when the cannon's throat	
[1. 20]	Its thunder ceases; yet her smother'd speech,	
	Although with deaden'd sound, is heard by him	635
	Who bids the sword, by brave defence unbid,	000
	Forsake its rest. Oft, at the dead of night,	
	When flatt'rer's lips are clos'd, but not the eyes	
	Of him they call a god, she tells him. Man	
	Was made to cherish, not to butcher man.	640
	The sordid senator, who sells his breath	930
	To wake the coals of war, she doth proclaim,	
	Nor can his ear th' accus'd patrician seal.	
	•	
	Accomplice in the murder of mankind.	045
	When in the peaceful camp, while battle breathes,	645
	Their shouting the recumbent captains cease, Oft to the letter'd leader of his band,	
	As, ruminating, silent he reclines,	
	She whispers audible—"What dost thou here?	REA
	Is this a fair and honest scene around thee,	650
	That shrinks not from the beam of piercing Truth?	
	Is this thy post of duty? Wert thou made	
	To be the saviour or the foe of life?"	
	Like tented Richard's, troubled is his thought;	.
	He starts—The ghost "sits heavy on his soul"	655
	Of stabb'd mankind—But he is in, and on,	
	He says, he must—but says it with a sigh—	
	Then with a bustling motion shakes off thought.	
	Decumen's of most honouth the olive shear	

While the soft pipes of Peace around him play,
In pensive moments when the tabors pause,
She re-appears, injurious to his rest,
And shows his occupation as it is.
But it is plum'd, and sparkles in his eye;
The charm of rule attends it, and the lap

of careless, silken ease. Nor yet by all
E'en of the common tribe, trepann'd to drive
The deadly trade, is her mild voice unheard,
In these late times and luminous.—And hence
Some check the sanguinary strife receives

670
From her: Temptation conquers, but not kilis.

But doth not, say, the sense, which thus abates Of the dread scene the military rage, The moral horror heighten?-Yes, 'tis you, Sons of Refinement, sons of Science, you! 675 Not furious spurr'd by unenlightened love Of battle's red renown, supreme that sways The swallow'd soul, and drives to deeds of death With uncorrected impulse, self-approv'd: But, urg'd by sordid aims, who calm consent 680 That blood to shed, which in your secret sight Is sacred; to pollute your tempted hand With what ye know is spot; to do that deed, Whose Ethiopian shade the gauze disguise, Truth-covering Sophistry's white, flimsy web, 685 That o'er it falls to make it pass for fair. With its thin threads, a scanty veil, but ill From your keen eye conceals; -'tis you alone, Sons of Refinement, sons of Science, you! Convicted stand of murder's cruel crime. 690 And all the mild humanities that mix With the rough horror of the hostile scene; During each pause of intermittent Mars, The courteous intercourse betwixt your chiefs, Fair, interlusory civilities, 695 That deck and soften war's stern rigid state; But serve its iron ugliness to point. Each streak of beauteous white that breaks its dark Shows but in blacker night its ebon shade.

[P. 30]

Oh! I could speculate, with calmer eye,
A monstrous cloud of fierce, conflicting fiends,
Met in mid air, with malice hot from hell,
Keen pains propense and powerful to inflict,

700

[P . 31]	Furnish'd all o'er with cruel faculties, And throbbing thro' each vein with quenchless hate, Infernal fray! where all were uproar wild, All unrelenting spite and writhing wounds; A madd'ning war of venom, stings and teeth; Into whose dragon broil, and high-wrought rage,	705
[F. 51]	(Prodigious discord!) all her out-sent soul Alecto breath'd! oh, better far my sight Could such complete, consistent scene sustain, Than this strange mixture of our motley strife.	710
·	Urbanity, and battle! manners bland, And murders bloody! thorns that deeply pierce, And beautifully flower! soft courtly camps That kill, and smile, and smile, and kill again!	715
	Can it (soul-freezing spectacle!) be he, E'en as a friendly neighbour that but now	
	Sent to their guardian's board a courteous gift, Who hurls hot bolts at you high-seated walls; And, like a black enchanter, all malign, In mischief mighty, with loud-bellowing rage	720
	Spouting his fiery arches in the air, Essays to bore and batter into dust The massive bulwarks?—Are they shadows, say, Or what they seem, that sit consorting there? Unnatural fellowship! While the roar of arms	725
	Suspends its bray, and the tir'd furies breathe, Lo! adverse chiefs, that with a frowning front Meet in the battle, at the banquet met With social eyes! the sparkling draught goes round, As friends, long lov'd, long left, again embrac'd,	780
[P. 32]	And pour'd the purple spirit in their cup, To animate their mantling amity! See a smooth captain, with soft, civil smile, Some dainty of the table tenders him, At whom to-morrow he must thunder throw!	78 5
	And bids that blood with gladder current glow, By gen'rous juices cheer'd, which 'tis his task Shortly to seek to shed! like a foul host, That hospitably entertains the guest He dooms to midnight death. While as they rest,	740
	With their gay leaders, from their bloody toils, Camp'd in each others view, the hostile hosts. Jovially hail whom they are come to harm;	745

Make merry interchange of sportive becks,

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	And wanton nods, and smiles, and frolic song,	
	And frisky dance; like harmless villagers	
	In innocent assembly on the green,	750
	All gamesome on a rustic holiday.	
	Civiliz'd war! in every varied view,	
	Ill suits thee, fiend accurs'd! so fair a name.	
	Though in the field a smoother form thou wear	
	Than thy wild sister hag of craggier shape,	755
	A feller fury thou! for on thee wait	
	Severer sufferings, and a wider scene	
	With varied woes thy vaster mischief fills.	
	Ah, 'tis in cultur'd life, and chiefly there,	
[P. 33]	War is the scourge we call it; there alone	760
	In thickest show'r of heaviest lashes felt,	
	It deeply lacerates and long furrows makes	
	On, bleeding Happiness! thy mangled frame.	
	What if the field of savage slaughter show	
	With blood a more obliterated green,	765
	A redder plain and direr forms of death?	
	Its rage the savage soldier feels, nor fears:	
	Nurs'd in no silken lap, his lion-nerves,	
	Strings strong as steel, stiff and untrembling, know	
	To laugh at torment and to sing in death.	770
	War is his sport; in ecstasy of soul	
	He whoops and hails the hour that bids him face	
	Its frowning front, its horrid dangers dare, And hack in pieces whom his heart abhors.	
	Not such the sportive springy leap to arms	
	Of the cold hireling Europe's clarions call;	775
	Forth to the field, unused to suffer pain,	
	And long time lapp'd in soft and drowsy ease,	
	Fearful and loth he moves: the arms of peace	
	He leaves reluctant, and reluctant lifts	780
	The hostile spear: nor by hot malice spurr'd	
	'Gainst whom he's sent to slay, nor flaming love	
	Of whom he goes to serve, with sluggish step,	
	Heavy and homeward hanging, he obeys	785
	His crested master's bidding to depart.	
[P. 84]	The field he enters chill; again obeys	
	His crested master's bidding to destroy.	
	The coward kills, himself with terror dead;	
	A trembling hero; made by dread to dare.	
	Afraid to fight, yet more afraid to fly,	790
	The prisoner of his post all pale he stands;	

Now still, save in his trembling joints; now moves A meek machine obedient to command: Until at length mechanic confidence From frequent misses of the levell'd lead 795 Gradual he draws; and from the tumult round him Catches a wildness, that all thought at once And terror swallows in its giddy whirl. Confusion cures his fear; brave he becomes When noise hath made him mad; and laurels then, 800 But not before, Disorder's hero reaps. Till then (whate'er the gay-cloath'd coward prate, Whose crest tremendous scares the sons of Peace) In him who fights for pay, not love of fight, Nor of the cause which his sold sword sustains. 805 Contemplative Compassion views a wretch, When first he enters the dread, fateful field, A cold, recoiling wretch, that pale regrets He ere forsook the safe domestic scene. In fancy slain by every slaught'rous sound, 810 Lifeless he hears the loud disploded deaths. And 'mid the thunder dies a thousand times.

[P. 35] Ah cruel lusts! wherever ye have lain,
Lodg'd in whatever bosoms, founts of wars,
That myriads thus have mercilessly sent 815
From life's smooth walks and humanized scenes
To freeze with horror amid forms they hate;
To wear white faces in the field of death,
Without a cause to kindle scorn of life;
Dire ills to work, where ill to none they wish; 820
Hurt whom they hate not, whom they know not crush,
And act the fiend by fury uninspir'd.

And, as nor pain nor terror in his field
The savage warrior knows, but death's dread stroke
Fearlessly dares and furiously deals,
So nor from Nature's frowns, wherever roams
His rambling war, by hardening Nature nurs'd,
His horny frame unstringing sickness dreads.
Far other fates th' unprosperous path pursue
Of art-fenc'd Health, when far from genial walls
The tender wanderer strays, and generous food.
Sickness, slow, silent enemy, assails
Her pining victim; cheerlessly consum'd;
And envying whom the sword's keen fury cuts,

	IOSEDU FAWOREM. MYR ARE OF THE	
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[P. 3 6]	That ardent die 'mid action's madd'ning heat, That sudden drop and bid their pains adieu! A mournful, sad, depressing death is theirs; Nor animating tumult round them roars, Nor reputation's bubble floats before	835
	Their cheated eyes, nor fond domestic hands Dispose their pillow and sustain their head. From Comfort quite cut off, outcast they lie From civil life's accommodated couch, From military glory's fancied bed, And left to lose the light at once without	840 845
	A soldier's solace, and a man's support.	010
	Nor to the field is the dire rage confin'd Of our soft-nam'd contentions, where alone The wars that issue from the woods are felt. Those whom these leave behind at home, they leave In undiminish'd plenty there to dwell. The sons of Nature Nature still supplies: The war nor drains their waters nor their woods, Thins nor their hunted meal nor finny food.	850
	But complicated traffic's trembling web Shakes, at the trumpet's call, through all its lines: Nor the domestic scene, where trade prevails, Escapes concussion 'mid the war-shook world. 'Tis agitation all! the quaking spreads O'er every part! nor finds affrighted peace One firm unrocking spot on which to rest, Amid the tremor of the shiv'ring scene.	855 860
[P. 87]	The city feels the strife that's in the field. To the connected, sympathising scene The battle's blows their dire vibrations send. In other ruins rages there the war; There falling fortunes answer falling lives,	865
	And broken hearts to broken limbs reply: Crash after crash resounds; fall follows fall; And groan succeeds to groan; heav'd from the breast Of tumbling traffickers, from splendour hurl'd To beggary's dark abyss; the wringing hands Of ruin'd houses into Pity's eyes The tears continual call, that, scarcely wip'd,	870

Gush out again, and yet again are fill'd,

Replenish'd by the wretches as they rise In long succession to her aching sight: While, frequent, bursts upon the startled ear

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875

The loud explosion from the tube of death, 'Mid the domestic stillness thunder strange! 880 Heart-quailing noise! raising presages dire In each misgiving hearer! follow'd swift By frantic Friendship's rush into the room, Pale Horror's piercing scream, or speechless trance! Nor less superior agonies attend 885 The social feelings, where they finer throb In cultur'd bosoms, when the severing sword Cuts from their clasp the life to which they clung. [P. 38] Full soon the wounds of coarser spirits close: One hideous howl the savage mourner sends 890 For his slain friends; one shrill and short-liv'd shriek From female woe, contents the tenderness Of woman's fonder love: then Grief farewel! Then all is joy, for victory is theirs: Hush'd is each groan; and every tear is dried; 895 And rapturous rout and revelry prevails. Ah! not so soon the eyes, which battle dims On other shores, the tender dews dismiss. There tremble long th' untransitory tears: 900 The stabb'd Affections there bleed copious on In countless breasts, war's widest, deepest wounds! When the stain'd sword, that drank the precious blood, Or from their own, or the same fount that flow'd, Or as their own was dear, hath long been wip'd And to its sheath return'd-there, memory-bound, 905 Sits pale affliction in full many a face, Month after month and year succeeding year, The sad survivor of its sable signs: When long cast off the inky cloak hath lain, 910 The undernoted sorrow still remains.

Since such the foul offence, th' enormous crime,
Gigantic guilt of war, exhausting all
Man's powers of ill, that leaves him nothing more
[P. 39] Of monstrous to be done,—whence is it, say,
Whence is it, when the martial bands go forth,
Not to beat back, with righteous brav'ry nerv'd,
The lawless breaker into peaceful lands,
But distant men with tragic frown to front,
And blood that rolls in veins remote to spill;
Whence is it, as they pass, the public eye
Complacent on the long procession looks?
Where is the horror of the gazing throng

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	That stuff the street, or, to the windows drumm'd, Thick cluster there, whose theatre of looks	
	With placid smile the spectacle approve?	925
	Why is it, that on all the faces round	020
	No frowns are seen? no pale abhorrence spreads?	
	No discomposure stirs? Whence comes the neace	
	On each calm countenance so sound that sleeps?	
	Lo! not a brow is knit! nor quits its rest	980
	One quiet feature! nor one single eye	
	Shoots angry light, or wounded shrinks away,	
	At such a monstrous scene! a concourse vast	
	Of homicides, thick thronging on the sight!	
	Whose train protracted satiates, as they pass,	985
	E'en eyes, on shows that glistening long can gaze;	
	Each going forth to do that deed accurs'd,	
	Whose solitary act, in Fancy's ear,	
[P. 40]	Excites the raven's scream; while the dread spot,	
[F. 40]	Where violated life's hoarse groans were heav'd,	940
	Shows frightful shapes to Superstition's eye;	
	And the dire tale, on winter's witching eve,	
	In narrower ring the chalk-cheek'd circle knits,	
	Close creeping to the warm protecting hearth.	
	Where is that thing, whose dark deformity	945
	Dress cannot cover from untutor'd man?	V 10
	Thoughtless he looks on all surrounding things,	
	The science of their surface all his lore.	
	Doth Error meet him cloth'd in eloquence?	
	He hugs the painted hag, and beauteous Truth	950
	Believes his arms embrace. Doth Misery rob'd	
	In purple pomp appear? He knows her not,	
	With envious eye surveys, and deems there stands	
	Felicity before him. Laughs aloud	
	Light vacant Joy? There, dreams he, dwells Content.	955
	On higher station stands a human form?	
	His credulous eyes a higher stature own.	
	Or doth foul Guilt in fair array appear,	
	Grac'd with the splendour or of wit or rank?	
	He looks and loves and calls her Innocence;	960
	E'en Virtue calls her. But 'tis here, 'tis here,	
	All potent dress! in all its magic pow'r,	
	Thy witch'ry on his cheated eye is shown.	
TD 413	Lo! what a wondrous width of interval,	
[P. 41]	In estimation's scale, he thoughtless throws	965
	Between the self-same deed, when unadorn'd,	

Undrest it stands, and shows its naked shape, And when thy drap'ry, Decoration! flings Its graceful folds and lovely dies around it!

Stript of its trappings, 'tis a deed so dire. 970 On the first motion of the mind that way, The wretch whom strong temptation draws towards it. Shrinks from his thought; tries from himself to run; And is afraid to trust him with himself. With violent force he calls his thoughts from off 975 So foul a thing, and tries to chain 'em down. Again and yet again the magnet prize, Whose strong attraction tugs against the terms As strongly that repel him, spite of all His strife to struggle from it, to his mind 980 Recurs; renews its hold; repeats its pulls: Again and yet again his look returns To the black work by which it must be won, Ere his recoiling Reason, less and less That backward starts, as oftener up it goes 985 And eyes its fear, with slow consent complies. A deed so dark, that he who has a heart To wish it done, and wealth a hand to buy. Culls from the crowd, with penetrating choice, A face of stone; whose muscles never move 990 [P. 42] Into a smile; whose heavy, brooding brow, Habitual overhung, his eye's dark den, Blackens beneath its shade their surly low'r. A deed, which he who to another moves. Knows not to name: *he has a thing to say. 995 Which, while he can be seen, he cannot say, Full in his face while looks the staring sun; Which he must say surrounded by the night; Which he would say without the use of sound, Silent infuse into his fellow's breast 1000 By inspiration's spiritual speech: Which with half utterance he hesitates, With an unfinish'd voice, unfill'd with breath, Faint timid tones that fear to leave the lip, 1005 Sounds so like silence, that the hearer doubts If heard or not: with sentences, concise, Close clipt and spare, a frugal niggard speech; All prating superfluities left out,

^{*} Shakespear: King John

And issued none but necessary sounds: Speech bare of words, all hint and skeleton, 1010 In expletives, that plump sleek language out Meet for the mouth of Pleasure, all uncloath'd, Suited cadav'rous to the ghastly theme! A deed, in which the hardier villain's mouth, That would th' accomplice keep, his words have won, [P. 43] In his oft-back-retreating heart must oft His rallying spirit pour. It is a deed, Which when determin'd by a tempted wretch, All his dire fund of fortitude in ill He must call forth to do, and wind his heart 1020 As high as it will stretch. His choice of time He fixes on the hour when all the world Is dead: when with the colour of his act Darkness accords; and every eye is clos'd. *Between his purpose and his dreadful stroke 1025 Wild is the space within him: †to the scene Of his dark act, with a light-falling foot, Ghost-like he glides; and fancifully fears Lest strange and wondrous voices wake the world And babble of his business. When the blow 1030 His heav'n-forsook and hell-driv'n hand hath struck. He is "afraid to think on what he has done;" That 'twere undone, is his devoutest wish. Of heaven and earth he feels himself accurst. With wildest superstition seiz'd, he dreads 1035 That preternat'ral Providence will point Its finger at his guilt. Whate'er his gain, He finds that Peace and he have parted, ne'er To meet again. 'Tis ill for ever with him. 1040 An horrid spectre is before his eyes. [P. 44] The grave sends back again his ghastly gift: The shadowy resurrection's grim reproach Shakes all the trembling pillars of his soul. He starts, when nothing stirr'd; -- "Who speaks?" -- he asks, When no one spoke; and mutters things unheard 1045 With nimble-moving lips that send no sound. Disturb'd e'en in the stillest room he lies: Kept by no noise awake, no sleep he finds, Or no oblivion finds it. Glad t' escape From scaring visions, soon in sweats he wakes. 1050

To cheer his midnight hour he must have light

^{*} Julius Caesar.

[†] Macbeth.

Continual at his couch; the live-long day. As clings a drowning wretch to him he holds, (Dreading, as doth that drowning wretch the wave, Soul-sinking solitude) he closely cleaves 1055 To some companion's side; hunted he seeks From the keen terrors that his soul pursue Protection in his presence; when there's near Nought hostile to him save himself, he fears: Flees unpursued; and unsuspected, reads 1060 In every eye discernment of his deed. His life an heavy load upon him lies He can no longer bear; all wan and worn, The conscience-withered wretch a witness comes Against himself; and gloomy refuge seeks, 1065 In the dire executioner, from one [P. 45] More dire within: before his country's bar When pale he stands, a crowd of curious eyes The hall of justice choak, with hungry gaze 1070 And gloomy eagerness to mark the case Of such a monstrous mind! each line to trace, Where Penetration seeks to track the tread Of aspect-printing soul; and every look And motion, with unwearied watchfulness, Of the prodigious culprit to devour! 1075

Yet this same deed, which e'en though singly done, If naked seen, such shuddering horror moves, When e'en on gasping myriads at a time It is committed, yet when it is done 1080 With all its tinsel on it, with its pomp And robe about it, by a numerous troop Whom ermin'd Mightiness commands and keeps; Whose corporal forms the critic eye approves, Select in stature, of proportions fair; 1085 Whose trim attire, with nice adjustment neat, Is pure from soil, and bright with showy dies; Who to black scenes of lurid horror go, In holiday and laughing colour clad, Gay rainbow rufflans; on their guilty way, That wear no hanging head, nor downcast eye. 1090 But with a swelling chest and stately port That strut to blood; amid the gaping throng, [P. 46] Through whose long lines of dazzled looks they march, With plumy pinnacles pre-eminent, 1095 Tall above men; whose weapons luminous

Hold mirrors to the sun, return his rays, And give the light their radiant face receives. Doubling the day; all regularly rank'd In system fair and symmetry of posts, Amusive to the eye; with measur'd steps 1100 Harmonious moving, timing every tread In symphony of feet; or elevate, Mounted on manag'd and on mettled steeds Whose haughty arch of neck bears high their heads, And hot, dilated nostrils shoot out smoke, 1105 Panting with gen'rous fires, that snort and neigh, And restless paw and champ the foamy bit, And prance impatient of procession's pace; While beauteous banners o'er the passing pomp Unroll their silken sheets, that in rich streaks 1110 Strive with the morning, and, in easy stream And playful freedom, flutt'ring loose in air, Flirt with the gamesome gale; and sprightly sounds Of rousing music join the gorgeous show, The thundering threat of drums, and the keen tones 1115 Of the sharp fife, and high inciting sounds Of trumpets that persuade the thrilling ear, "'Tis honour calls to arms, and the big call 'Tis heroes that obey:"-thus proudly cloath'd In luxury of dress, with such a sweep 1120 And swell of regal gown, all over cloak'd In every part with amplitude of pall, Voluminous disguise! this ugly act, Foul hag of night, misshapen, monstrous thing, Abhorr'd and loathsome to the sense of right, 1125 As to the sight the ribs of bony Death, Or hideous Scylla's womb of howling hounds. Fails to disgust; the amiable vice, Hid in magnificence and drown'd in state, Loses the fiend; receives the sounding name 1130 Of Glorious War: and through th' admiring throng Uncurs'd the ornamented murderers move.

[P. 47]

Law! feeble regent in young Reason's room,
Too young as yet to reign, how short a wing
O'er human weal doth thy protection spread!

From rapine and from wrong contracted screen!
A speck of shield, o'er the vast social frame
That throws a spot of shade, and leaves the bulk
Uncover'd to the battle! puny arm!

Whose fairy rod, for tiny Mischief made, 1140 E'en him deters not, in his petty sphere, With stealing step to move; while with loud strides [P. 48] Giant Injustice walks uncheck'd abroad. And braves both earth and skies, and strikes such blows With his unwieldy, pond'rous, pounding mace, 1145 As to the centre shake the trembling orb! Whose limbs enormous no huge magistrate With mighty grasp arrests, with massy chain, Of link prodigious, manacle immense! Hath pow'r to bind.—If but some few life-drops 1150 Blush on the ground, for him, whose impious hand The scanty purple sprinkled, a keen search Commences straight; but, if a sea be spilt, But if a deluge spread its spacious stain. And fields be flooded from the veins of man, 1155 O'er the red plain no solemn coroner His inquisition holds.—If but one corse. With murder's mark upon it, meet the eye Of pale Discovery in the lonely path, Justice begins the chace: when high are heap'd 1160 Mountains of slain, the great, the full-grown guilt, Safe in its size, too large for laws to lash, Trembles before no bar.—Panting and paie, A single culprit, hark! the hounds of Law Hunt in full cry: but where's the custody, 1165 On culpable communities can shoot The bulky bolt? for culprit empires where The huge colossal constable, to whom Such criminals will crouch? Where stands the court, 1170 [P. 49] Of ample area, like the arch of heaven, Within whose walls wide-swelling, plaintiff states Offending states may sue, and nations wait Their sentence, meek submitted to the mouth Of so sublime a bench? Till this can be. 1175 How poor the boast of Law! She wants an eye More keen, to catch whom, caught, her arm can scourge; And in her hand there needs a Michael-sword Of vaster size her bigger foes to fell, 1180 Smite Mountain-Mischief, Evil's mightier fiend, Satanic in his stature and his strength.

> From lawless force, look round the world and see, Defence how feeble legal force affords! Assault and self-reliance for relief

And clatter of encounter; to the friend Of human kind presenting, as he sits 1230 From the hot combat pensively apart. A picture all confus'd of counter paths. Each other crossing with collision loud! A wildly shifting, ever-waving scene! A sea of sinking and ascending heads, 1235 Where all is undulation, rise and fall! This, mounted high with plume and spear, that down, Unhors'd amid the trampling, bruis'd and broke, Biting with bankrupt-agony the ground: While shouts and groans, in air tumultuous mix'd, 1240 With harsh discordant noise distract the ear.

How long shall it be thus?—Say, Reason, say, When shall thy long minority expire? When shall thy dilatory kingdom come? Haste, royal infant, to thy manhood spring! 1245 [P. 52] Almighty, when mature, to rule mankind. Weak are the outward checks, thy bridle's place Within the secret bosom, that supply. Thine is the majesty; the victory thine, 1250 For thee reserv'd, o'er all the wrongs of life. The pigmy violence the private scene That vexes, and that hides his head minute From human justice, it is thine to end; And thine, the tall and Titan-crimes that lift 1255 Their heads to heaven and laugh at laws: to thee All might belongs: haste, reach thy ripen'd years! Mount thine immortal throne, and sway the world!

NOTES

Title Page.

Out, damned spot, etc. Freely selected from Macbeth, V. i, 39-60.

Lines 1-2.

William Hazlitt comments on these lines as follows: "Well might the poet begin his indignant invective against an art, whose professed object is its destruction, with this animated apostrophe to life." The Feeling of Immortality in Youth.

Lines 6-15.

These lines reproduce the necessitarian doctrine of the eighteenth century psychologists and moralists from Locke down. It is doctrine such as may be found in Hartley and Priestley. Wordsworth, according to his own testimony and that of Coleridge, was a necessitarian in his early manhood, and his faith was shared by Coleridge and many others.

Lines 20-28.

For a corresponding humanitarianism, perhaps equally an echo of Cowper, compare Wordsworth's Lines Left Upon a Seat in a Yew-Tree, 1795.

Lines 29-31.

The idea that "the all-quickening breath" develops life up to "reason" from the lower forms of mentality is most clearly developed by David Hartley in his Observations on Man, 1749. Compare Coleridge, Religious Musings, especially lines 28-45, with the accompanying note on David Hartley.

Lines 64-79.

methodised the art, etc. With this compare Godwin, Political Justice, quoted on page 229.

Lines 95-118.

This is a satirical picture of a council of statesmen, representative of autocracy and aristocracy, who cause, plan, and carry on war. Compare Godwin, quoted on pages 227-228 and 230.

Lines 128-170.

With these horrors of war compare Godwin, quoted on pages 229 and 230.

Lines 259-261.

Freely adapted from King John, III, iii, 37-39.

Lines 264-266.

Freely adapted from King John, III, iii, 34-37.

Lines 269-277.

Say hath the African fair freedom found? The struggle against the African slave-trade is briefly recorded in Wordsworth's *Prelude*, Book X, 245-253.

Lines 319-360.

With this picture of one affected by the calamities of war compare Wordsworth's *Guilt and Sorrow*, a poem avowedly written, as he tells us, when his mind was oppressed "with calamities, principally those consequent upon war, to which, more than other classes of men, the poor are subject."

Lines 364-410.

Compare Godwin, quoted on pages 227-229.

Line 490.

Compare lines 496 and 757.

Lines 502-587.

That ye have murder humanized, etc. The poem identifies war and murder in several passages. Godwin likewise identifies the two, as for instance in the following striking passage from the second edition of Political Justice, 1796, developing a hint in the first edition: "It would be unjust to dismiss the consideration of this most dreadful, yet in the present state of things sometimes unavoidable calamity . . . of war, without again reminding the reader of its true character. It is that state of things where a man stands prepared to deal slaughter and death to his fellow man. Let us imagine to ourselves a human being remaining alone in the midst of the carnage he has made, surrounded with the dying and the dead, his arms bathed to the very elbow in their blood. What manner of creature shall we esteem him to be? What had these men done to him? Alas! he knew them not; they had never offended; he smote them to the death, unprovoked by momentary anger, coldly deliberating on faults of which they were guiltless, and executing plans of wilful and meditated destruction. Is not this man a murderer? Yet such is the man who goes to battle, whatever be the cause that induces him. Who that reflects on these things, does not feel himself prompted to say, 'Let who will engage in the business of war; never will I, on any pretence whatever, lift up a sword against my brother?"

Lines 587-588.

Godwin makes note of the unreason of such actions (page 229).

Lines 631-675.

Note that Reason, as in Godwin, condemns war.

Lines 659-660.

Like tented Richard's . . . "Sits heavy on his soul." Compare Richard III, V, iii, 118, 131, 139.

Lines 780-827.

For the reluctant soldier compare Guilt and Sorrow.

Lines 853-915.

Those calamities of war which are not confined to the field are the constant theme of the anti-military poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and their group, as well as of Godwin.

Lines 921-922.

Godwin, too, grants that a defensive war is justified. See page 230.

Line 989.

Once again Reason condemns war.

Lines 1000-1001.

He has a thing to say . . . he cannot say. King John, III, iii, 25-28.

Lines 1035-1036.

Between his purpose . . . wild is the space within him. Adapted from Julius Caesar, II, i, 63-65.

Lines 1036-1038.

to the scene . . . ghost-like he glides. Adapted from Macbeth, II, i, 55-56.

Line 1042.

He is "afraid to think on what he has done." Adapted from Macbeth, II, ii, 51.

Lines 1128-1129.

"'Tis honour calls . . . obey." Freely adapted from Antony and Cleopatra, I, iii, 97-101.

Line 1143.

Law! feeble regent in young Reason's room. This line is thoroughly Godwinian by reason of the place given to Reason, the cure at once of both autocracy and war. The so-called "Law of nations" is too weak to hold unreason and war in awe.

Lines 1177, 1180.

culprit empires. Empires, in Godwin's mind, being ruled by a hereditary autocratic sovereign, must of necessity be "culprits" and "criminals."

Line 1252.

Say, Reason, say. When Reason shall come into her own, war will cease. Compare Godwin, quoted on page 230.

RUSKIN AND THE SENSE OF BEAUTY

F. W. ROE

One of the tutors at Oxford when Ruskin was an undergraduate there, "the only man among the masters of my day," said he, "who knew anything of art," Henry G. Liddell (afterwards the distinguished Dean of Christ Church), in a letter to Ruskin written in 1879 thus describes his earliest impression of the first volume of Modern Painters: "Thirtysix years ago I was at Birmingham, examining the boys in the great school there. In a bookseller's window I saw Modern Painters, by a Graduate of Oxford. I knew nothing of the book, or by whom it was written. But I bought it, and read it eagerly. It was like a revelation to me." This enthusiastic opinion is typical of the earlier judgments of Modern Painters, and not of the first volume only, but of the others as well. Ruskin was hailed as the evangelist of art and the apostle of a new revelation of beauty. He was looked upon as a miracle-worker who had opened the eyes of the blind and had taught them to see in nature and in art a new heaven and a new earth. He was the enchanter who, out of the old materials of his mother speech, had fashioned a fresh and exquisite fabric, rich and gorgeous beyond anything that had been seen since the days of Burke and De Quincey. The younger artists of those days were captivated. Holman Hunt sat up most of a night reading a borrowed copy of Modern Painters, until "the echo of the words" remained an enchantment to his ears. William Morris and Burne-Jones heralded Ruskin as a "Luther of the arts," and to groups of Oxford friends, Morris spouted passages of his prose in a voice that fired his listeners with exultant admiration. When the young Pre-Raphaelites were attacked in 1850 and 1851, Millais, in anger and despair, went for help

to Ruskin, who at once wrote a letter to The Times that turned the tide of opinion in favor of the brotherhood. might pardonably envy, as Swinburne said, "the authority and the eloquence" which gave "such weight and effect to praise." Ruskin's achievement was truly remarkable. At twenty-three, in an ecstasy of indignation, he had put aside his drawing and his mountain-rambling to defend a maligned reputation, with little thought of the path he was destined to take. At forty he stood at the summit of his fame, an acknowledged interpreter of the beautiful such as England had not hitherto produced. For taken together, the five volumes of Modern Painters, in spite of the heavy weight of imperfections—their extravagant paradoxes and pieties, their dogmatisms and contradictions ("oscillations of temper and progressions of discovery," as Ruskin said)—contain the most inspiring and influential and probably the most enduring discussion of art yet written in English; a work that if it betrays a caprice fatal to the critic, reveals everywhere the passionate insight belonging only to the poet.

Modern Painters was begun as a defense of Turner. In 1843, when the first volume appeared, Turner already had a reputation as the first of landscape painters, he was a member of the Royal Academy, and he had made a fortune from his pictures. But he was passing into his later manner, and the reviews had violently attacked his canvases, describing them as meaningless and absurd, a series of distorted dreams evoked by a senescent imagination. Raised to the "height of a black anger" by these attacks, Ruskin rushed to the defense of his idol with all the abandon of youth and genius. Young as he was, his enthusiasm for Turner was even then old. At thirteen he had received the famous birthday gift of Rogers' Italy, illustrated with Turner's vignettes. At fourteen he had begun copying the painter's drawings, and at seventeen he had flung off his first reply to Blackwood's criticism, in which he had spoken of Turner's art as "embodied enchantment, delineated magic," and as "seizing the soul and essence of truth." Before he was twenty-one, his father had given him two Turners, and when he was of age, he had begun collecting for himself, until the Ruskin home contained one of the choicest collections in England, numbering by 1860, says Sir E. T. Cook, "two oil pictures and more than a hundred drawings and sketches." Turner's works were to him a symbol of all the beauty in landscape and of all the mystery and tragedy in man,—"studied melodies of exquisite color, and deeply-toned poems." To defend Turner was to defend all that Ruskin best loved in nature and most revered in art.

What began as a magazine article to support a falling reputation soon grew into a book, and from one book into five, leading its discursive author into ever-widening fields of inquiry and speculation, not only upon nature and art, but upon poetry, society, education, and religion as well. Ruskin was intermittently occupied with the work for seventeen years, or until 1860, when the fifth and last volume came out; and if we take into account the early article of 1836, written for Blackwood's but withheld by Turner, and the epilogue of 1888, written for the last complete edition of Modern Painters to be published in Ruskin's lifetime, together with innumerable prefaces, annotations, and comments, that appeared in the intervening years, we find that the volumes as we now have them in the monumental Library Edition, stretch over a period of fifty-two years, and are richer in material than any other work that Ruskin produced. The expansion was inevitable. In making way for the truth of Turner, Ruskin found that there were great accumulations of falsehood that must be pushed aside. There was, on the one hand, the false idealism of the conventionalists, who strove so hard to secure generalities or "universals" in their art that they deliberately left out or falsified reality. Their position is best set forth in the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds and is illustrated in the inquiry of the painter, Sir George Beaumont, to Constable—"But where is your brown tree?" and in the well-known dictum of Dr. Johnson that "poetry is to speak an universal language." There was, on the other hand, what Ruskin regarded as the vulgar and trivial realism of those who slavishly followed the Dutch school of artists, with their "cattle and market vegetables,"

their "flats, ditches, and hedges, enlivened by cows chewing the cud, and dogs behaving indecently"; and who therefore left no room in their pictures for the higher and more occult kinds of truth such as could be realized only by the visionary power of the imagination. Ruskin felt, too, that he must meet not only the prejudices of the schools, but the philistinism of the public and the esoteric aestheticism of the connoisseur. In order to enjoy art it was not necessary to cultivate a critical appreciation of technicalities and tricks of expression alone, nor to care more for pretty gewgaws like the "lining of a cloak, or the satin of a slipper." than for the large realities of human life and nature. He protested with all his soul against this "pursuit of beauty at the expense of manliness and truth." He would bring art into the open where it might be tested by principles that have their rootage in the healthy soil of our common humanity.

Ruskin thus found himself driven back to fundamentals. He must state, and endeavor to explain, the laws of art by which he meant to be guided, both in his attack upon the conventionalists and connoisseurs and in his defense of Turner. In the preface to the first edition of volume one "But when (1843) his purpose is thus clearly set forth: public taste seems plunging deeper and deeper into degradation day by day, and when the press universally exerts such power as it possesses to direct the feeling of the nation more completely to all that is theatrical, affected, and false in art: while it vents its ribaldry on the most exalted truth, and the highest ideal of landscape that this or any other age has ever witnessed, it becomes the imperative duty of all who have any perception or knowledge of what is really great in art, and any desire for its advancement in England, to come fearlessly forward, regardless of such individual interests as are likely to be injured by the knowledge of what is good and right, to declare and demonstrate, wherever they exist, the essence and the authority of the Beautiful and the True." Relieved of digressions and irrelevancies in which throughout five bulky volumes they are intermingled and sometimes obscured,

III:4. The references throughout are to The Library Edition of Ruskin.

the principles upon which Ruskin rests his arguments are alike comprehensive and simple, the work of a mind that had an intuitive perception of the sanity of great art. And although it is our purpose here to deal with but one of these principles, a brief statement of them all will serve to remind the reader of the place that the notion of beauty holds in the general scheme. Art is defined by Ruskin as the expression of man's "rational and disciplined delight in the forms and laws of the creation of which he forms a part. That art is greatest which includes the greatest number of greatest ideas." The ideas in great (fine) art are three,truth, beauty, and relation (thought).2 Truth is "the faithful statement, either to the mind or senses, of any fact of nature." Beauty is "the power in anything of delighting an intelligent human soul by its appearance." By the awkward term "relation" Ruskin denotes all those ideas "conveyable by art, which are the subjects of distinct intellectual perception and action, and which are therefore worthy of the name of thoughts." It is the intellectual and imaginative side of artistic creation or enjoyment, as opposed to the perceptive, that the term is intended to mean; questions involved in the choice of subject, collocation of materials, and imaginative treatment, by which the artist at last reaches the summit of his art, namely, the expression of himself. In later years Ruskin regarded this systematic arrangement as "affected and forced," and declared that by it he only meant to say that a work of art must be well executed, must possess truth and beauty, and must combine these two elements in such ways as to speak to the intelligence and arouse the imagination of those for whom it was intended.

One further question, however, remains; for according to the definition of art as quoted above we are bound to consider not only the kinds of ideas involved, but also in what sense "greatness" is to be understood. What makes an "idea" properly "great"? Does greatness reside in the object or in



²Ruskin names two other ideas, power and imitation, but he dismisses them after a brief exposition of their meaning, for the reason that they are either unworthy (imitation), or an account of them, so far as is necessary, is involved in the discussion of the other three. cf. III:116.

the subject, in the material used or in the use made of it by the artist? These are the old enigmas that critics have delighted to conjure with. Ruskin's solution, while not wholly free from contradictions, is in the main clear. The final source of greatness, he says, is the soul of the artist; great art is a noble spirit in the artist communicated to his material. "I call an idea great in proportion as it is received by a higher faculty of the mind, and as it more fully occupies, and in occupying, exercises and exalts the faculty by which it is received. . . . Great art is precisely that which never was, nor will be taught; it is pre-eminently and finally the expression of the spirits of great men." If we inquire whether this "expression" may be accomplished equally well by means of the petal of a rose or the chasm of a precipice, the life of a peasant or that of a noble, Ruskin wisely warns us that "the criticism of art never can consist in the mere application of rules," and says that "the difference between great and mean art lies not in definable methods of handling, or styles of representation, or choices of subjects, but wholly in the nobleness of the end to which the effort of the painter is addressed." This is a sound caution, but it is neither the whole truth nor Ruskin's own conclusion; for noble emotions must have noble "grounds," and "greatness" in reality springs from a fourfold source, including "object" as well as "subject,"—namely, choice of noble material, right admiration, sincerity, and power of invention. "The sum of all these powers is the sum of the human soul. Hence we see why the word 'great' is used. It is literally great. The idea of its magnitude is a literal and just one, the art being simply less or greater in proportion to the number of faculties it exercises and addresses." The Gothic Ruskin in his philosophy of art was something of a Greek! The reader of Modern Painters scarcely needs to be remind-

The reader of *Modern Painters* scarcely needs to be reminded that the elaborate program implied in the foregoing principles was not in any part or particular fully carried out. Ruskin possessed neither the knowledge nor the temperament.

^{*} V:42.

[•] V:65-66.

for so gigantic a task. He regretfully acknowledges the incompleteness of the work, admitting that "it treats of nothing but the initiatory steps of art, states nothing but the elementary rules of criticism." He gave up his systematic treatment at the third volume, and allowed himself to follow a rambling course to the end of the fifth, which thus became a stopping place instead of a goal. He raised questions along the way which he either did not or could not answer; he gave promises which he did not fulfill; he found himself involved in problems of optics, geology, and botany which he could not solve; and, finally, he was drawn further and further into discussions of social and economic matters. which, by 1860, had for him, he says, "an interest tenfold greater than the work I had been forced into undertaking."5 But in spite of this fragmentary and discursive character of Modern Painters as a whole, Ruskin repeatedly maintained. down to his latest years, that there was no change in its principles from beginning to end. In its "art teaching and landscape descriptions," he said in 1873, "I have little to retrench, and nothing to retract." "In the main aim and principle of the book," he wrote in the Epilogue of 1888, "there is no variation from its first syllable to its last." Looking back across the years of disillusionment and distress that had come upon him since 1860, he believed that in his efforts to write down the laws of the True and Beautiful, he had been a "faithful scribe."

It is in the second volume that these "laws" of the beautiful are set forth. Written in 1846, this work belongs to the period when Ruskin was still under the pietistic faith in which he had been nurtured. It was created out of circum-



⁵ VII:257.

^{*}I do not mean of course to imply that the second volume is given over to the analysis of beauty alone. Ruskin had a single purpose, carried out in two directions. Having in the first volume discussed "ideas of truth". or the visible facts of the outer world, in the second volume he took up the more difficult task of considering "the value and meaning of mental impressions" which these facts make upon the individual. For the ends of art these impressions are dealt with by two great faculties, the theoretic and the imaginative, the peculiar function of both being, according to Ruskin, a spiritual, as opposed to a merely sensuous and intellectual activity. As he says: the book "divides the faculties of mind concerned

stances in the highest degree congenial to his nature. Still youthful, exultantly happy, travelling at will over Switzerland and Northern Italy, in the summer and autumn of 1845. he gathered in impressions of beauty on every hand, and returned to his task of composition thrilled to ecstasy with what he had seen on frescoed walls and Alpine summits. "The full happiness of that time to me," he says, "cannot be explained except to consistently hard workers; and of those, to the few who can keep their peace and health. For the world appeared to me now exactly right. Hills as high as they should be, rivers as wide, pictures as pretty, and masters and men as wise." He wrote his chapters under the influence of Hooker in style, of George Herbert in religion, and of twelfth century builders, Jacopo della Quercia, Fra Angelico, and Tintoret in art. In a sense the volume was intended to dethrone the realists then in fashion, and to exalt Fra Angelico as the type of that vital union of both sensuous and spiritual beauty which Ruskin then and always regarded as the necessary foundation of any great art whatsoever. The history of his mind towards the work is indeed a valuable illustration of his adherence to this artistic faith throughout the changes in temper and religion to which his nature afterwards subjected him. In 1858 he threw off his puritanical beliefs and entered upon a long period of spiritual bewilderment, under the shadows of which he wrote his economic and social studies, immensely broadening the field of application for his principles of art. During this time Ruskin looked upon the second volume of Modern Painters with severe disapproval, pronouncing its tone presumptuous and affected, its style cumbrous, and its treatment pedantic; but most of all condemning its religious spirit as narrow and

'XXXV:851.

in the contemplation of nature into two great branches—one passive, the other active; one receiving delight from external things, the other so modifying and regarding external things as to increase this delight. The passive power I called Theoria, and the active, Imagination. (V:438)... It was my purpose... to show... that the Beauty of great art was that ... which the soul perceived, and not the senses merely; that the Thoughts of great art were those which the soul originated, and not the understanding merely" (XI: xix). In the present study we are concerned with the "theoretic faculty" only.

sectarian. Not until 1883 would he allow a revised reprint of the book to be issued,8 and only then partly because his mind had by this time returned to Fra Angelico and the primitives with a new and broader understanding of their religious art; but chiefly because it seemed to him that a reiteration of his old teachings was needed as a force to counteract corrupting influences that were then betraying the world to the powers of evil. Movements were in the air that stirred the old lover of beauty to angry protest,—a materialistic science that studied structure and neglected aspect, casting scorn on its loveliness and mystery; a foul and avaricious industrialism that built up vast areas of ugliness and populated them with masses of unhappy toilers; and, not the least, a new school of aestheticians, whose voices as Whistler said were now heard in the land preaching the gospel of "art for art's sake," and who taught or seemed to teach that the titillation of the sensibilities moment by moment was the highest experience that could come from a worship of beauty. Such a doctrine issuing from the "aesthetic cliques of London," a doctrine tainted with morbidity, and a negation of the transcendental element in beauty, decided Ruskin to redeclare his central conclusions, long since left in abeyance with a latter-day distrust in all abstract treatment of questions of taste. "I find now (1881)," he said, in language that reveals the influence of Carlyle, "that the 'general student' has plunged himself into such abysses, not of analytic, but of dissolytic,—

^{*}There were two reprints without revision, in 1856 and in 1869.

^{*}This "new school" is a chapter by itself. It may be recalled, however, that Swinburne's Poems and Ballads came out in 1866, Rossetti's Poems in 1870, and Pater's Renaissance in 1873,—all of which were influential in exalting the notion of the sensuous and passionate "moment". These men felt the force of Ruskin's spell, and they all came in for his praise. His relations with Rossetti are well known; Swinburne's work he warmly applauded; Pater's criticism he quoted with approval. Still there was "too great boldness" in some of Rossetti's verse, and a "corruption which is peculiar to the genius of modern days" in Swinburne's. While the closing words of Pater's Renaissance—"For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake,"—were a contradiction of all that Ruskin regarded as of most consequence in his theory of beauty and art. It was undoubtedly later and extreme expressions of these tendencies, however, that most aroused his wrath.

dialytic-or even diarrhoeic-lies, belonging to the sooty and sensual elements of his London and Paris life, that, however imperfectly or dimly done, the higher analysis of that early work of mine ought at least to be put within his reach; and the fact, somehow, enforced upon him, that there were people before he lived, who knew what 'aesthesis' meant, though they did not think that pigs' flavoring of pigs'-wash was ennobled by giving it a Greek name: and that there were also people before his time who knew what vital beauty meant, though they did not seek it in the model room, or the Parc aux Cerfs." What most needed re-emphasis, then, was that part of the second volume which he had regarded, not as untrue or unsound in principle, but as needlessly pedantic in form. "I find now," he said in Readings from Modern Painters to Oxford audiences (1877), "the main value of the book to be exactly in that systematic scheme of it which I had despised, and in the very adoption and insistence upon the Greek term Theoria, instead of sight or perception, in which I had thought myself perhaps uselessly or affectedly refined." The misanthropic veteran had thus kept faith with the visions of his happy youth.

It was indeed in the spirit of youth—bold, aggressive, dogmatic,—that Ruskin plunged into the difficult task of interpreting the sense of beauty.¹² A brief outline of his

[&]quot; XXV:122.

[&]quot;XXII:512. Not a few evidences of Ruskin's use of the 1883 reprint as a counterblast to the aesthetes may be found in his supplementary notes: as for example where he warns his reader against cultivating perceptions of the beautiful "on principles merely aesthetic", italicising the word and explaining as his reason "that the reader may note the anticipation of the mischief which has since followed from this sect" (1883); or, again, in reference to the wrong use of "aesthetic": "it is one of the principal reasons for my reprinting this book, that it contains so early and so decisive warning against the then incipient folly, which in recent days has made art the corruption, and the jest, of the vulgar world" (IV:35).

¹³ As has been suggested, Ruskin in later years often gave expression to his sense of the futility of discussing problems of aesthetics. In an Oxford lecture he says: "Nearly the whole study of aesthetics is either gratuitous or useless. Either you like the right things without being recommended to do so, or, if you dislike them, you cannot be changed by lectures on the laws of taste" (XX:208, cf XXV:45). In spite of this sentiment, however, he repeatedly gave expression in the later books to his opinions and discoveries in this field. In fact the best of Ruskin on the sense of beauty is strewn broadcast through thirty-

theory may best be stated for the most part in his own words. "Any material object," he says, "which can give us pleasure in the simple contemplation of its outward qualities without any direct and definite exertion of the intellect, I call in some way, or in some degree, beautiful."18 The word here that carries with it a sense peculiar to Ruskin is "contemplation," for which he borrowed the Greek term theoria, as suggesting more precisely his meaning. By it he intends to say that the pleasure which comes to us from the qualities of objects, when we contemplate them, and which alone justifies us in calling such objects in the full sense beautiful, is a pleasure with a twofold aspect, at once sensuous and moral. The sensuous aspect is what we commonly understand as the aesthetic, or, as Ruskin would say, the sensational and physical.14 It is that "quality or group of qualities in objects by which they become pleasant to the eye considered merely as a sense. Pure and vivid colors, for instance, are to the eye precisely what musical sounds are to the ear. capable of intense expression, but also pleasant in themselves, and although wearisome if too long continued, possessing for a time a real charm, of which no account whatever can be rendered, but that the bodily sense is therein gratified. is the first notion of beauty in the human mind." 15 in the healthy and attentive mind the "mere animal consciousness' of pleasantness is accompanied with a thrill of joy, which in finer and more cultivated natures rises into still higher qualities of emotion, until the sense of beauty in its

seven volumes. Quotations and discussions in the text will therefore draw freely from this wider field, though nothing will be, or can be, introduced to contradict the statement of principles based upon the second volume of *Modern Painters*.

²⁸ III :109.

[&]quot;"The reader should know that for what is now called 'aesthetics', I always used, and still use, the English word 'sensation'—as, for instance, the sensation of cold or heat, and of their differences;—of the flavor of mutton and beef, and their differences;—of a peacock's and a lark's cry, and their differences;—of the redness in a blush, and in rouge, and their differences, etc., etc. But for the Perception of Beauty, I always used Plato's word, which is the proper word in Greek, and the only single word that can be used in any other language by any man who understands the subject,—"Theoria'" (XXV:128).

fulness implies the recognition of a "living Spirit greater than our own," revealing itself through the aspects of things. This is the moral side of beauty. "It is necessary to the existence of an idea of beauty," Ruskin says, "that the sensual pleasure which may be its basis should be accompanied first with joy, then with love of the object, then with the perception of kindness in a superior intelligence, finally, with thankfulness and veneration towards that intelligence itself."16 Material loveliness, then, is found to possess the power of conveying intimations of an immaterial character. Objects must first be divested of such qualities as make them "accidentally or temporarily pleasant" before other qualities which are charged with these suggestions of a transcendental reality may be revealed. Beautiful objects, moreover, possess one or more of these permanent qualities in common, which thus become the cause of their "ultimate and true delightfulness." This ultimate beauty Ruskin regards as of two kinds, typical and vital. Typical beauty includes those qualities in material things which are types of "divine attributes"; vital beauty is "the appearance of felicitous fulfilment of function in living things, more especially of the joyful and

"In such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not" (Excursion, I: 213-215).

or,

"That serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame,
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things." (Tintern Abbey).

accurately describe the "theoretic" activity. "In French the word 'aesthetic' has quite the same sense that Ruskin gives to "theoretic'", says M. de la Sizeranne.

¹⁶ IV:48. Ruskin regarded this "moral" aspect of beauty as its central feature. He not only distinguishes it from pure perception, but from pure intellection as well. It is not intellectual because it does not involve, at the instant of its operation, the analytic powers of reason nor the combining powers of the imagination. Contrasted with these, it is passive. It is Wordsworth's "wise passiveness". In its highest operation it is a kind of spiritual clairvoyance that sees "into the heart of things". Ruskin at this point is a thorough Wordsworthian. The lines,—

right exercise of perfect life in man." 17 Six qualities are named as types of this or that transcendental aspect: infinity. or type of divine incomprehensibility.—seen in luminous distance, in curvature in lines, and in color-gradation; unity, or type of divine comprehensibility,—the appearance of connection in things, which are "pleasant and right" and which "in the most determined sense of the word, are essential to the perfection of beauty in lines, colors, or forms;"18 repose. or type of divine permanence,—"either a simple appearance of permanence and quietness, as in the massy forms of a mountain or rock, accompanied by the lulling effect of all mighty sight and sound, which all feel and none define, . . or else . . . repose proper, the rest of things in which there is vitality or capability of motion actual or imagined; "19 symmetry, or type of divine justice,—"the opposition of equal qualities to each other, . . . rather a mode of arrangement of qualities than a quality itself:"20 purity, or type of divine energy.—the sense of "vital and energetic connection among the particles" of matter, as contrasted with the foulness that is "essentially connected with dissolution and death;" 21 moderation, or type of divine government by law,—"an undercurrent of constantly agreeable feeling, excited by the appearance in material things of selfrestrained liberty,"-the presence of pained and cramped restraint in objects, on the one hand, or of violence and extravagance, on the other, being destructive of beauty, and "giving rise to that which in color we call glaring, in form inelegant, in motion ungraceful, in language coarse, in thought undisciplined, in all unchastened." 22 Moderation is thus the most essential of these qualities, and "the girdle and safeguard of all the rest." Of vital beauty, Ruskin distinguishes two kinds. First, is "relative vital beauty." or the pleasure afforded by every organic form, arising "in

¹⁷ IV :64.

¹⁸ IV:94.

¹⁹ IV :114.

[≈] IV :126.

^{**} IV :182. ** IV :189.

proportion to its appearance of healthy vital energy,"those forms being, in this regard, "most beautiful which exhibit most of power, and seem capable of most quick and joyous sensation," and are, in short, most noble in their functions.28 Second, is "generic vital beauty," or those impressions of beauty connected "with more or less perfect fulfilment of the appointed function by different individuals of the same species."24 Every living thing belongs to its species and is conceived as approaching in greater or less degree than other members of the same species to that perfect form which is the imagined ideal of the entire class; it gains or loses in beauty according as it rises towards or falls away from this central standard.25 The analysis of vital beauty is terminated with a chapter of brilliantly suggestive but inconclusive remarks on the evidence of this quality in man, as the highest expression of organic life.

Such, then, in its barest outlines is Ruskin's theory of beauty. If we look now at the principles involved, whether psychological or philosophical, we shall find them few indeed, and implying a severely "commonsense" view of the world; for Ruskin was inclined to look with contempt upon the pretensions of philosophers of art with their dry jargon of abstract vocables and the jugglery of the plain facts of experience. His naturalistic English mind, he says, could not tolerate the extravagance of German idealism. In its straightforward acceptance of both the "objective" and "subjective" elements involved, his theory is indeed characteristically British. The perception of beauty is regarded as instinctive or intuitive; man finds by experience that some things are agreeable and that others are not. He is so

^{**}There are infinite gradations of beauty here (the pleasure afforded being "relative" to the "vitality" displayed),—"from the impenetrable hide and slow movement of the elephant and rhinoceros, from the focupation of the vulture, from the earthy struggling of the worm, to the brilliancy of the moth, the buoyancy of the bird, the swiftness of the fawn and the horse, the fair and kingly sensibility of man" (IV:155).

^{**} IV:163.

** Ruskin is here under the influence of Plato. His realism is platonic: he talks about the "perfect idea of dove, tiger, or scorpion", and about "ideality" in vegetables, flowers, trees, and rocks.

created!26 Beauty is a sensation and as such it is of course purely subjective, differing in different individuals according to circumstances of health, cultivation, and natural gifts. Light is not "light" until the ray falls upon a retina, human or animal. "The 'fiat lux' of creation is, therefore, in the deep sense of it, 'fiat anima,' . . . the change of that blind vibration into the glory of Sun and Moon for human eyes. The leaf hears no murmur in the wind to which it waves on the branches, nor can the clay discern the vibration by which it is thrilled into a ruby." The responsive ecstasies of the human heart to this or that impression that comes to it from the outer world cannot be dissolved into mere "natural" forces. In the last analysis the instinctive sense of the individual is both supreme and inexplicable; his soul is the true birth-place of beauty. As an experimenter the artist will try out this or that fold of drapery for his statue, and he must.—but it is his intuition that tells him when the effect is right: "this alone is art, and no science will ever enable you to do this, but the poetic and fabric instincts only." 28 But the philosopher and poet must not ignore a reciprocal dependence of the "subject" upon the "object." Ruskin at this point is a strict empiricist and he would have agreed with Professor Santavana's definition of beauty as "pleasure regarded as the quality of a thing," in so far at least as the definition implies a clear recognition that the sense of beauty varies with the various qualities of objects.29 He would have had no sympathy with the "expressionist" theory of Croce, who makes the difference between one object and another, aesthetically considered, depend upon a difference in the individual's emotional state immediately preceding his experience of the object; for he would promptly have asked. What causes the emotional difference? If a man feels beauty in the presence of a rose but not in the presence of a crumpled autumn leaf, it is partly because the rose possesses in itself a mysterious "power" which the leaf does

[™] cf. XV:391.

[&]quot; XXII:194; XXXIV:27; cf. XXXIV:107.

^{*}XXII:219; cf. XII:500. *cf. V:202; XXXIV:27.

not. If the same man should be thrilled more by the rose than by a sunrise over Venice, he might truly be said to find, for the moment, the rose more beautiful for him, but he would not at all be warranted in saying, even at that moment, that it contained more "objective elements" of beauty than the sunrise; for the sound reason that by the common consent of mankind the sunrise is far richer in "potentialities" for beauty.

And these "potentialities" may be ascertained and measured. Here, it seemed to Ruskin, was the only proper field for aesthetics,—a true "science of aspects" and a study of the values that constitute the raw material of art. "Nor is it even just," he says, "to speak of the love of beauty as in all respects unscientific; for there is a science of aspects of things, as well as of their nature; and it is as much a fact to be noted in their constitution, that they produce such and such effect upon the eye or heart (as. for instance, that minor scales of sound cause melancholy), as that they are made up of certain atoms or vibrations of matter." Ruskin in fact showed intense and lifelong interest in the "physical" principles of contemplative pleasure, so far as they might be determined by observation and experiment.⁸¹ His own inquiries in this field are so scattered that the casual reader can have little idea of the wealth of material that was collected during many years of the most rapturous watching for "effects," from the shadings on a dove's neck or a serpent's scales to the coloring of Titian and Correggio. Ruskin chanted the glory of color from volume to volume, but his enthusiasm is scientific as well as artistic: "every color or force of color," he says, "is a fixed thing, not dependent on sensation, but numerically representable with as much exactitude as a degree of heat by a thermometer." Curvature too, he said,

[₩]V:387: cf. XX:207.

²¹ He was himself mainly interested in the "physical" side, as regards the qualities of things, but he well appreciated the "physiological" side also, or dependence of the sense of beauty upon the condition of the eye, the blood, or the bodily state in general. He thought the effect of the passions—anger, hate, etc.— upon the body offered a large field of inquiry. cf. XXVI:179; XX:202; XXXIV:110.

^{**} VI:50; cf. X:172; XX:166; VI:68-9.

has its laws, and he did pioneer work in the analysis of various orders of curves, "of the highest value," says Professor C. H. Moore, "to the student of beauty." Had he devoted his entire energy to scientific aesthetics, he would have turned out brilliant results, for his sensibilities to color and form were extraordinarily acute, and his opportunities for observation exceptionally fortunate.

But while science should describe and classify to the fullest possible extent these common sources of pleasure, the acquirement of a refined sense of beauty does not need to wait upon the subtle inquiries or demonstrations of the specialist. in either case, whether it be the pleasure of the aesthetician or that of the ordinary person, its original source is a natural liking or disliking, at once spontaneous and mysterious. Our bodily sensations, Ruskin says, "are inexplicable; it being just as impossible, I think, to show, finally, why one succession of musical notes shall be lofty and pathetic, and such as might have been sung by Casella to Dante, and why another succession is base and ridiculous, and would be fit only for the reasonably good ear of Bottom, as to explain why we like sweetness, and dislike bitterness." All that we know with respect to these sensations is that we are born with "a power of preference," a fact to Ruskin of quite infinite significance. "This law of preference in your hearts," more wonderful than the laws of matter, "is the true essence of your being," he says, "and the consciousness of that law is a more positive existence than any dependent on the coherence or forms of matter." Totally wanting, it may be, in some, totally destroyed in others, existing in all degrees and intensities in different persons, the power of preference in a normal mind



[≈]cf. VI:321-328; XI:8; XV:178. Mention should be made also of his extended analysis of mountain and rock forms, of twigs, leaves, magnitudes, etc. Ruskin's range of interest was unbounded. His first published prose was an inquiry on the causes of the color of the water of the Rhine,—printed when he was fifteen!

^{*} XV:205.

^{*}XX:268. Ruskin distinguishes between two kinds of sensations and preferences: "over immediate impressions and immediate preferences we have no power, but over ultimate impressions, and especially ultimate preferences, we have" (4:53).

is capable of indefinite growth and refinement by the "exercise of attention through certain prolonged periods," until at last the individual so exercising it comes to be a person of taste. The judgments of this disciplined sense of beauty tend from diversity to unity, so that there is at last established in the realm of the beautiful a body of preferences or "standards," upheld from age to age by the general consent of the competent. "Astonishingly simple and commonsense!" the reader will exclaim. There is in truth nothing here either subtle or esoteric, for to Ruskin the sense of beauty, like the sense of duty, was a force to be trusted with complete confidence; and if faithfully followed it would lead from joy to joy, in ever widening circles of experience, until its happy possessor should habitually look upon the visible universe with eyes of wonder and heart of love.

But a theory of the beautiful such as this, critics have said, is sentimental and fantastic. It is so much preoccupied with religion that religion for Ruskin is "the only legitimate content of art". ** Aesthetics and ethics welter together in inextricable confusion, they say, and what was announced as a sober statement of the laws of taste turns out to be only a long sermon on piety and conduct. But to say this is to grossly misrepresent Ruskin, since it claims for his principles of beauty an identity with those of morals and religion, as commonly understood, which he repeatedly denied. All of his writings, it is true, are strewn with texts and verses from the scriptures, and a chapter that begins with an illuminating comment on color-values is likely to be concluded with a



[&]quot;If, therefore, I speak dictatorially, and say this is base or degraded or ugly, I mean only that I believe men of the longest experience in the matter would either think it so, or would be prevented from thinking so only by some morbid conditions of their minds" (IX:254). cf. IX:62n; XXVI:165; XIX:223; XX:34.

[&]quot; Again Ruskin is Wordsworthian: cf.

[&]quot;The primal duties shine aloft—like stars:

No mystery is here!" (Excursion, IX:239, 244)

Ruskin's repeated advice to young artists illustrates the simplicity of his view. "Trust your instincts, when in a calm and healthy state", he said to them. "Watch for everything, look carefully for everything in nature that is beautiful" (XII:502). cf. VI:327.

[&]quot; Carritt, Theory of Beauty, 108.

discursive exegesis of some biblical passage. The second volume of Modern Painters, in particular, has many a sentence which, as Ruskin irritably confessed in later years, is "offensively aggressive in its pietism" and blazes up too much in "evangelical bursts of flame." These things are offenses, and they can never be anything else. But the essence of Ruskin's theory of beauty is religious only in the sense that the aesthetic philosophy of Plato, Spenser, Wordsworth, and Shelley is religious. He did say that the sense of beauty in its fulness, as he understood it, is "summed in the text-'Happy are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' ", but he denied that he meant the phrase to be taken in any theological or doctrinal sense whatsoever, but only as implying a healthy, happy, and vital state of mind as necessary to the perception of loveliness,—a state of mind that in the noblest natures rises at last to reverent recognition of an indwelling spirit as the final source of beauty.39 To believe this is not to believe that religion is the basis of beauty, but rather that beauty is one basis of religion, a conclusion reached by an innumerable company of joyous souls from Plato to Emerson. Rightly understood, again, Ruskin's ethics turns out to be the farthest removed from a code of morals. "The essential idea of real virtue," he says, "is that of a vital human strength, which instinctively, constantly, and without motive, does what is right."40 A healthy human being, obeying with utter sincerity, from choice to choice, the spontaneous impulses that well up within him, was for Ruskin expressing a spiritual force that at its fountain head was not to be distinguished as purely ethical or aesthetic, but was in fact to be considered either by turns, according as it manifested itself in action or in contemplation. This force, the true revelation of personality, the guiding principle of the creative imagination, is love. And if Ruskin regards this impulse of love as the corner-stone of his whole edifice and calls it moral, he means by "moral" no more and no less than does Shelly when he says: "The great secret of morals is love; or a going out of

[™] IV:4, 5.

^{*} XVIII:801.

our nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own." To assert this, as Professor Shawcross points out, is a very different thing from asserting that the immediate motive which guides the artist's pen or pencil "is the edification of his fellow men". The center and circumference of all the ethics and all the religion that Ruskin ever considered essential to his theory of beauty,—"the whole idea of my essay", is summed up in the "great sentence" of Aristotle: "perfect happiness is some sort of energy of Contemplation, for all the life of the gods is (therein) glad; and that of men, glad in the degree in which some likeness to the gods in this energy belongs to them".42

The vulnerable places in the theory are elsewhere. systematic analysis of beauty into "typical" and "vital", as outlined in the preceding pages, is arbitrary and illogical, and admittedly incomplete. Physical and mental characteristics are not sharply discriminated; "infinity" and "unity" are coordinated with "repose" and "moderation", while "symmetry" is rather, as Ruskin says, a mode of arrangement than a quality of things. The "types" of beauty, like the "lamps" of architecture, might have been extended indefinitely.48 Discussions of sublimity and color are promised, but the promise is unfulfilled, or only carried out in a random and fragmentary way in subsequent volumes. Subjects, like proportion, which ought to have been given separate chapters, are briefly touched upon in a few sentences. Ruskin freely admitted the incompleteness of his scheme, as well as the "doubtful and tentative" nature of his analysis. "I have repeated again and again," he says, "that the ideas of beauty are instinctive, and that it is only upon consideration, and even then in a doubtful and disputable way, that they appear in their typical character. Neither do I intend at all to insist

[&]quot;Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism, intro. xxix. There are many and interesting correspondences between Ruskin's and Shelley's theories.

⁴ IV:7.

[&]quot;Various other "types" are suggested here and there,—color and mist and mountain forms, for examples. cf. VII:417; VI:89, and 418-425.

upon the particular meaning which they appear to myself to bear, but merely on their actual and demonstrable agreeableness". While these imperfections are serious, they do not affect the validity of the few essential doctrines that Ruskin regarded as of most importance. A more serious defect in the whole account is to be seen on another side. The theory rests for its source of information, for its illustrations, and for the building-up of its analysis, almost exclusively upon natural phenomena and the graphic arts—painting, sculpture, architecture,—which draw most freely upon the external world for their material. Tones and words, as well as the varied complicated structures of music and poetry, should have an equal place with colors and forms in the general scheme, and would of course furnish their own special problems, which Ruskin has left practically untouched.

Nor was he always consistent and clear in his statements with respect to the dependence of beauty upon truth, and the relation of beauty to ugliness, matters of the utmost consequence in any thorough-going analysis of the sense of beauty. Ruskin's ideas grew and expanded in all directions through a lifetime of devotion to art, and notably in the field of graphic arts his insight and his information were alike extraordinary, but he never succeeded in reducing his facts and impressions to a connected account, interrelated in all the parts. Indeed he was temperamentally unfit for such a task. In some of his earliest work, particularly in Seven Lamps of Architecture and in the first volume of Modern Painters, he makes sweeping assertions regarding the relation of beauty to truth which the reader finds contradicted or qualified again and again in later volumes. "Nothing can be beautiful which is not true," he says; "nor was there ever yet one conception



[&]quot;IV:87; cf. IV:76, 91, 118.

[&]quot;Ruskin's restriction of beauty to "sensible" experience, however, as opposed to "conceptual" is, I think, to be understood as applying to all forms of art. He refuses to apply the notion of "beauty" to the splendor of a discovery, the fitness ("constructive" or "mechanical") of a proportion, the coherence of a chain of reasoning, or the power of bestowing pleasure which objects receive from association (IV:64).

of the human mind beautiful, but as it was based on truth."46 Categorical statements such as these taken by themselves, in the sense in which "truth" is here understood,—fidelity to natural fact,-are false. In the wider sense in which Ruskin intended them to be understood, however, they are largely true. The rule in representative art of the first class, he says, (for he means painting and sculpture chiefly) is that the representation shall be made to look to the utmost of its power as like the thing represented as possible.47 Beauty cannot grow out of falsehood; if a thing pretends to be what it is not, it is a lie, and a lie is ugly.48 The noblest art grows out of reality. It presents what the artist has seen, whether angels or landscapes. Should he seek beauty at the expense of truth, he does so at his peril; for if he begins by neglecting truth, he is likely to end either by sacrificing beauty altogether or by exalting its less noble expressions, as was the case in the debased extravagance of later Renaissance artists. Naiads and fairies may furnish innocent play and refreshment to the wearied mind, but when they become the staple of art, art thereby loses its place of distinction. In his main contentions, then, Ruskin was consistent, if he was not always clear. No article in his artistic faith was more tenaciously held or more frequently preached than this doctrine of the dependence of beauty upon truth. The love of truth was for



[&]quot;III:108, 643. The converse of the first of these statements—all that is true is beautiful—Ruskin of course denied: "a picture may be frightfully ugly, which represents with fidelity some base circumstance of daily life; and a painted window may be exquisitely beautiful, which represents men with eagles' faces, and dogs with blue heads and crimson tails' (V:56n).

^{**}XIX:411. "We have seen that sculpture is to be a true representation of true internal form. Much more is it to be a representation of true internal emotion. You must carve only what you yourself see as you see it; but, much more, you must carve only what you yourself feel, as you feel it" (XX:292). "We lay it down for a first principle that our graphic art, whether painting or sculpture, is to produce something which shall look as like Nature as possible. But we must go one step farther, and say, that it is to produce what shall look like Nature to people who know what Nature is like" (XX:283).

[&]quot;It should be understood that this applies to representative art of the highest rank. "Secondary work in pots, and pans, and floors, and carpets, and shawls, and architectural ornament" ought "to be unlike reality, and to depend for its charm on quite other qualities than imitative ones" (XIX:411).

him the primal energy of the artist,—a creed in the highest degree sound and noble.40 At times, moreover, Ruskin seems to have thought that every fact in nature, rightly seen, was lovely. Like Schopenhauer he was inclined to believe that to the eyes of genius all things are pleasing. There is scarcely anything in nature like deformity, he says: "every truth of nature is more or less beautiful . . . the ugliest objects contain some element of beauty". Where these assertions and others like them are not inspired by an over-enthusiastic effort to defend Turner from the charge of untruth, they are suggestions of an intuitive faith that all nature is an expression of harmony and law, and therefore beautiful. But whatever this vision of the larger order may have been in moments of ecstasy, in ordinary hours Ruskin's faith and practice were like those of his fellows, who knew that if nature be constantly beautiful she does not reveal her beauty constantly. Beauty and ugliness, like pleasure and pain, exist side by side in the world of aspects, in all degrees and proportions, each modified by the presence of the other. "All nature, especially human nature," Ruskin says, "is not entirely melodious; but a barred and broken thing." In the great creations, both of nature and of art, ugliness is indeed a necessary foil to beauty; for without it beauty might lose its vigor, its capacity to convince us that it is a living force and not a mechanical concretion of man-made elements. The gargoyle, leering down upon us from some far-away nook in the cathedral wall, the roll of the kettle-drum in the orchestra, alike seem to give impressiveness to what otherwise would possess neither majesty nor power. "A white canvas cannot produce an effect of sunshine; the painter must darken it in some places before he can make it look luminous in others; nor can an uninterrupted succession of beauty produce the true effect of beauty.



[&]quot;When you are fairly at the work, what is the motive then which tells upon every touch of it? If it is the love of that which your work represents—if, being a landscape painter, it is love of hills and trees that moves you—if, being a figure painter it is love of human beauty and human soul that moves you—if, being a flower or animal painter, it is love, and wonder, and delight in petal and limb that move you, then the Spirit is upon you, and the earth is yours and the fulness thereof" (XVI:291) cf. VI:30-47.

. . . Nature has for the most part mingled her inferior and noble elements as she mingles sunshine with shade, giving due use and influence to both." That beauty has most richness and vitality, then, and so is best suited to the purposes of enduring art, which is founded upon truth and is set off in glowing light against a darker background. 51

Having made now these foregoing qualifications and deductions, having admitted the contradictions, extravagances, and dogmatisms,—all of which have evoked the revilings of the critic, who reviles on one page and quotes with approval some brilliant Ruskinism on the next,—having made these allowances, we are left with an account of beauty not merely, as Sir Leslie Stephen has indifferently said. "as good as others". but rather better than most, at least for the practical person who cares less for over-refined and too often empty metaphysical abstractions than he does for a commonsense and convincing description of our instinctive likings, of their essential nobleness, and of the way to cultivate them. Ruskin's theory holds a middle position between the highly philosophical theories such as those of Kant, Hegel, and Croce, and the extreme impressionist views, of which Pater's is a refined example. He lived upon sensations and he valued them as the authentic echoes of a world beautiful beyond all description; but he valued them even more because they conveyed intimations, however dim and inconstant, of a life within, immanent, obedient to law, and probably personal. He would have agreed heartily with Pater that "to witness this spectacle (of life and nature) with appropriate emotions is the aim of all culture"; but he would have attached to these emotions a significance far beyond anything that we may find in the conclusions of Pater regarding the aesthetic nature of man. Ruskin is the rhapsodist of beauty even



[₩] V:57.

In There are numerous passages in Ruskin where he speaks of beauty and ugliness as positive qualities in things. As I have attempted to show, he did not really mean "beauty" and "ugliness", since these imply the perceiving mind. He did mean, however, that things have in them what I have called "potentialities" for beauty or ugliness, and that these are measurable and codifiable into laws or canons of taste. cf. V:45, 5; III:23n; XXV:268.

more than its analyst. He belongs neither with the metaphysicians nor with the impressionists, but with the higher mystics, Plato and Dante, Spenser and Wordsworth, who reason indeed as far into reality as they may but who are yet unafraid to trust a joyous faith where eyes cannot see.

If we ask for the sources of this passionate interpretation of beauty, we shall find that they spring mainly out of Ruskin's own experience and scarcely at all from a study of other interpreters.⁵² His teaching in fact is a vivid chapter of autobiography, a record of the best and happiest moments of a man extraordinarily endowed with a passion for beauty.52 In an early letter (1844) to a former tutor, he says that among the characteristics of his mind two are conspicuous: "its two great prevalent tendencies are to mystery in what it contemplates and analysis in what it studies".54 The accuracy of this self-estimate is borne out not only in the books and drawings that Ruskin published in his lifetime, but in the wealth of note-books, sketches, and biographical material that has appeared since his death. Readers of Praeterita know with what fulness and charm he has described the fortunate early years of his life and what a record it is of those influences best calculated to awaken and cultivate the sense of beauty:—the early reading, the sketching, the wonderful touring by coach over England, Scotland, Wales, and the

²² I regret that I cannot enter here into a discussion of the relations of Ruskin to others in this matter. He read little from authorities: "Every one who glanced at the bookcases in the study or hall at Brantwood," says Cook, "was struck by the comparative paucity of books on art" (XXXIV:698). Obviously his theory owes much to Plato, something to Aristotle, and a little to Burke, Reynolds, and Alison,-chiefly by way of antagonism and contradiction, however. Ruskin hardly read the Germans at all. I can find no evidence that he had read a line of Kant or Hegel. He makes two references to Schiller (the Letters upon the Aesthetic Culture of Man, translated into English in 1845), and one to Winckelmann in thirty-seven volumes! There is no reference to Lessing, though I suppose that Ruskin had read him. And yet, curiously, Ruskin's influence in Germany has been very great. Engel refers to him as "the Englishman's Winckelmann and Lessing in one", and Sieper says that "in the last twenty years (i. e. from 1910 backward) Ruskin and William Morris more than any other Englishmen had influenced German thought"

^{**}Ruskin's mission in life, he used to say, "was to teach people to see" (I: xxxix).

^{*} III :666.

Continent, enriching him with sights and experiences such as prompted him in after years to compare his own boyish raptures with those of Wordsworth. Remembering these sources of his strength at a later day, he said of Modern Painters that "every argument, and every sentiment in that book, was founded on the personal experience of the beauty and blessing of nature, all spring and summer long".55 He stood in the presence of beauty, not with the eyes of the ordinary observer, but with a physical thirst for form and color intense almost beyond parallel. "The habit of fixed attention with both eyes and mind," he said, was the "main faculty" of his life. 56 He took with him when he first went to the mountains a "cyanometer" for the study of color-gradation, and during his life he spent, he says "literally thousands of days" sketching in the open. "Out of a somewhat busy life", he had passed "eleven summers and two winters in researches among the Alps, directed solely to the question of their external form and its mechanical causes".67 An interest, in other words, which was kindled in youth, burned undiminished through life. "When I was a boy of twelve years old." he says in an Oxford lecture, "I saw Nature with Turner's eyes; and I should never have asked permission to resume the guidance of your schools, unless now, at sixty-four, I saw the same hues in heaven and earth as when I walked a child by my mother's side'',—a statement whose truth is confirmed in a multitude of exquisite word-pictures written in the latest years of his authorship.58

Ruskin's emotion in the presence of beauty, however, was not physical only, but "theoretic" also. There was, as he has said, that other tendency of his mind "to mystery in what it contemplated." The "theoria", or contemplative rapture,—that central thing in his account of beauty,—was a personal experience; for to him, as to Wordsworth, the world was ap-



⁵⁵ XXXIV:78.

⁵⁶ Ruskin's comments on his physical delight in beauty are numerous. cf. X:xxv; XXXIV:342; III:667.

N XXVI:548. Ruskin of course did an enormous amount of drawing for memoranda only: architectural details, pictures, frescoes, as well as natural forms.

XXXIII:887.

parelled in celestial light. In mountain solitudes his soul was elevated to a solemn ecstasy such as could find expression only in adoration or prayer: not a "definite religious sentiment", but "a continual perception of Sanctity in the whole of nature, from the slightest thing to the vastest, such as we sometimes imagine to indicate the presence of a disembodied I could only feel this perfectly when I was alone; and then it would often make me shiver from head to foot with the joy and fear of it". The hills rebuked his faults and weaknesses, and communicated an influence inconsistent "with every evil feeling, with spite, anger, covetousness, discontent, and every other hateful passion".50 This magical effect of beauty, the reward of patient vigil, was felt by Ruskin not alone in the presence of nature, but also in the presence of great art. Turner, Fra Angelico, Tintoret, Botticelli, and Carpaccio, each in turn, "crushed" him with a sense of their splendor and power. "It is this mystic secrecy of beauty which is the seal of the highest art," he said, writing from Italy, "which only opens itself to close observation and long study. I have been ten years learning to understand Turner -I shall be as many more before I can understand Raphael; but I can feel it a little in all first-rate works. The Apollo never strikes at first, nor the Venus; but hour by hour, and day by day, the mystery of the beauty blushes like life into the limbs as you gaze; and you are drawn back and back for ever—to see more—to feel that you know less".60 If it be said that these words, written from Naples at the age of twenty-one, express only the undisciplined rapture of youth, what shall we say of those others with which Ruskin, in the autumn of 1888, concluded the Epilogue to his last edition of Modern Painters?—"And now, in writing beneath the cloudless peace of the snows of Chamouni, what must be the really final words of the book which their beauty inspired and their strength guided, I am able, with yet happier and calmer heart than ever heretofore, to enforce its simplest assurance of Faith, that the knowledge of what is beautiful leads on, and

^{**} V:367.

[₩] I:448.

is the first step, to the knowledge of the things which are lovely and of good report; and that the laws, the life, and the joy of beauty in the material world of God, are as eternal and sacred part of His creation as, in the world of spirits, virtue; and in the world of angels, praise''.61

The study of art for Ruskin was the cultivation of this feeling for the beautiful, as its creation was the expression of it; at this point art coincides with life. "We no more live to know, than we live to eat," he said in one of his happiest paradoxes. "We live to contemplate, enjoy, act. adore". Paradoxical as the statement appears, it goes to the heart of his teaching. If the end of life is contemplation (love, admiration), so too is contemplation the end of art. Art as a means of interpreting life is invaluable; art as a substitute for life is worse than useless,—it is poisonous. Its appeal must therefore be immensely widened. It must not be confined to the galleries of the rich, where it too often ministers to the vanity of the few. Ruskin would democratize art; he would bring within the reach of all who have a capacity for it the life of contemplation, the enjoyment of beauty. "I am not engaged in selfish cultivation of critical acumen," he said, "but in ardent endeavor to spread the love and knowledge of art among all classes; and the love and knowledge I would communicate are not of technicalities and fancies of men, but of the universal system of nature—as interpreted and rendered stable by art''.62 He would not only widen the appeal of art, he would also expand its meaning and restore it to the old place of power which it occupied in the social life of the middle ages. A man's work in a rightly ordered society should be his art. It must yield him a livelihood, but it must also yield him a happy life; and it cannot do this unless the art-motive in some degree enters into every form of human effort, from painting to the making of horseshoes.62 Society must find "in the laws which regulate the finest industries the clue to the laws which regulate all industries".64

⁴ VII :464.

[■] III :665.

⁴ cf. XI:xix:XVI:294; XXVII:186; XX:xliii.

[&]quot; XX :39.

But the enjoyment and creation of art, as understood in this wider sense and as intended for all, depend upon a beautiful environment and a sound life, both individual and national. "The beginning of all ideal art must be for us." Ruskin declared, "in the realistic art of bestowing health and happiness. The first schools of beauty must be the streets of your cities and the chief of our fair designs must be to keep the living creatures round us clean, and in human comfort".65 But what did this enchanted worshipper of the beautiful see around him, when in middle life he began to study the aspects of men and cities, as before he had studied the appearances of clouds and sky? He saw that however eloquently the heavens might declare the glory of God, the dwelling-places of his people were subject to another dominion. It was therefore idle to preach beauty to a world every day becoming more ugly. It was futile to teach the dependence of art upon sound life, when society was rushing madly into a vortex of frivolities and dissipations. "You cannot have a landscape by Turner without a country for him to paint; you cannot have a portrait by Titian, without a man to be portrayed," he said. What Ruskin saw in the middecades of the nineteenth century was the giant advance of the new industrialism across the face of the land, treading down the older order and leaving in its horrid path wreck and confusion, grime and squalor and noise. He saw mills and shops and tenements springing up on all sides, and swarming with an army of unhappy toilers,—a dirty, overworked, underpaid, and unlovely multitude. He saw, finally, modern labor degrading men into machines, dividing them "into mere segments of men" and into "cogs and compasses of themselves". And so with a sense of indignation that "burned in him continually", with a discontent that he likened to the discontent of Virgil and Dante, he began to write of the curses of luxury and deforming mechanism, and of "the want of integrity and simplicity in modern life" in which people substituted "mechanism for skill, photograph for picture, cast iron for sculpture". To the stricken gen-

[&]quot; XIX:214.

erations of his day he preached the gospel of joy in labor. If it was true, he said, that thought could be made healthy only by labor, it was no less true that labor could be made happy only by thought: "life without industry is guilt, and industry without art is brutality". Ruskin's passion for social justice thus sprang from his craving for contemplative satisfaction. It was his mission in life now, as in the rapturous times of 1845, to point his fellow men to the light which had been a guide to him from youth to age, the light of beauty, constant and eternal.

cf. Vernon Lee: North American Review, 177:685.

AN AMERICAN'S INFLUENCE ON JOHN RUSKIN

WILLIAM F. DE MOSS

Every one knows of the more than forty years of intimate friendship between Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard University, and John Ruskin. Every one knows also that Ruskin's influence on Norton was great. Not every one knows of the remarkable influence which Norton exerted on Ruskin. It is the latter subject that I propose to discuss.

At the outset, an excerpt from Ruskin's well known tribute to Norton is worth quoting. In *Praeterita* Ruskin describes the beginning, in 1856, of his friendship with Norton, and adds:

And thus I became possessed of my second friend, after Dr. John Brown; and of my first real tutor, Charles Eliot Norton. Charles himself, a man of the highest natural gifts, in their kind; observant and critical rather than imaginative, but with an all-pervading sympathy and sensibility, absolutely free from envy, ambition, or covetousness: a scholar from his cradle, nor only now a man of the world, but a gentleman of the world, whom the highest born and best bred of every nation, from the Red Indian to the White Austrian, would recognize in a moment, as of their caste.

In every branch of classical knowledge he was my superior; knew old English writers better than I,—much more, old French; and had active fellowship and close friendship with the then really progressive leaders of thought in his own country, Longfellow, Lowell, and Emerson . . .

Norton saw all my weaknesses, measured all my narrownesses, and from the first took serenely, and as it seemed of necessity, a kind of paternal authority over me, and a right of guidance,—though the younger of the two,—and always admitting my full power in its own kind; nor only admitting, but in the prettiest way praising and stimulating. It was almost impossible for him to speak to any one he cared for, without some side-flash of witty compliment; and to me, his infinitely varied and loving praise became a constant

motive to exertion, and aid in effort: yet he never allowed in me the slightest violation of the laws, either of good writing, or social prudence, without instant blame, or warning.

I was entirely conscious of his rectorial power, and affectionately submissive to it; so that he might have done anything with me, but for the unhappy difference in our innate, and unchangeable, political faiths.

This passage is interesting no less because of its high estimate of Norton's culture and judgment than because of its direct testimony to his influence. Of the latter we have a direct corroboration. Norton spent several periods of his life in Europe; and he and Ruskin travelled together, studied together, and planned their work together. On November 10, 1872, Norton, then spending the winter in London, wrote in his journal:

Ruskin was never in a sweeter, less irrational mood than during these days. His reliance on me, his affection for me touch me deeply . . .

At four o'clock I left Oxford, Ruskin with me till the last moment, and most devoted. "I wonder," he said, "why I always feel as if you were so much older than I, and so much wiser." "Good-bye, papa," were his last words, "be sure to take care of yourself."

As a fact, the extent to which Norton's judgment prevailed with Ruskin is extraordinary. An instance of Norton's influencing Ruskin's opinions concerning one of the greatest painters is the following. In 1870, Norton was making his temporary home at Siena, and studying art. About the middle of June, Ruskin joined him; and after spending a day or two at Florence, the two friends travelled together through Italy. Concerning the time spent at Florence, Norton wrote to Miss Gaskell:

In Florence we went, among other places, to the Academy, and I showed him [Ruskin] my favorite Filippo Lippis,—the little Annunciation, and the Coronation of the Virgin. He had had no special knowledge of Lippi, but had taken the common, Vasari story about him as true, had accepted Browning's vigorous but altogether

¹ Letters of Charles Eliot Norton, I: 424.

mistaken delineation of him as exact, and had in short fancied him an immoral monk of some native power, turned painter.²

If we needed it, we have proof that Ruskin had had no just appreciation of Lippi, in the fact that in his Stones of Venice, where he divides all artists into three classes—best, medium, and worst—and names the principal men of each class, he does not consider Lippi important enough to be mentioned at all; and in the further fact that prior to 1870 he had mentioned Lippi but a few times, and then only to criticize him adversely, as where he uses his pictures as illustrations of "the degrading effect of the realized decorations and imitated dress." But we do not need such proof. If Norton's statement required any confirmation, we have it in Ruskin's own words. In writing to Mrs. Cowper Temple concerning the time that he and Norton spent together at Florence, Ruskin said:

I have learned much on this journey, and hope to tell things in the autumn at Oxford that will be of great use, having found a Master of the religious schools at Florence, Filippo Lippi, new to me, though often seen by me, without seeing, in old times, though I had eyes even then for some sights. But this Filippo Lippi has brought me into a new world, being a complete monk, yet an entirely noble painter. Luini is lovely, but not monkish. Lippi is an Angelico with Luini's strength, or perhaps more, only of earlier date, and with less knowledge.

Ruskin had already written his mother concerning his new insight into Lippi's works. His letter to her is as follows:

My dearest Mother,—Yesterday on St. John's day I saw a picture of the religious schools by a man whom I never before had much looked at, which is as much beyond all other religious painting as Tintoret is above all secular painting. Curiously enough, St. John Baptist is also the principal figure in it, and I am really beginning.



³ Letters of Charles Ellot Norton, I: 894.

^{*}The Works of John Ruskin, London, 1904, X: 221-223. Cook & Wedderburn's edition.

^{*}Modern Painters, (New York, 1858), II: 215. See also The Works of John Ruskin, (London, 1904), IV: 189, n., and V: 396.

for the first time in my life, to be glad that my name is John. Many thanks for giving it me.

It is clear, not only from this but also from numerous other references, that the picture here described is Lippi's Coronation of the Virgin, one of the paintings which Norton showed Ruskin at Florence—one of the two which Norton described as "my favorite Filippo Lippis".

In a letter to his wife, written from Prato, whither the two friends went soon after leaving Florence, Norton shows that he and Ruskin were still enjoying Lippi together. He writes:

I have hardly words to express my admiration of Filippo Lippi's frescoes in the choir. You must see them next autumn . . . I left Ruskin in the choir about to draw a noble and refined head of Lippi himself.

A few years later, in his Mornings in Florence, Ruskin recorded the following estimate of Lippi:

All Florentine work of the finest kind—Luca della Robbia's, Ghiberti's, Donatello's, Filippo Lippi's, Botticelli's, Fra Angelico's—is absolutely pure Etruscan.

About the same time, in a catalogue for the use of Oxford students and visitors, Ruskin wrote of Lippi as follows:—

- 97. The Annunciation. Filippo Lippi. From a small tempera painting in the Academy at Florence
- 98. The Nativity, from a picture by Filippo Lippi, in the Academy at Florence.

These two examples, unimportant as they seem, will, nevertheless, give you a clear idea of the best religious work of Florence, and, therefore, of Europe, and if you quietly and repeatedly compare them with designs by any other masters, you will find their

^{*}Cook quotes the first of these two letters of Ruskin's in his *Life of Ruskin*, II: 205, but without any thought of connecting it with Norton. The letter is also quoted in *The Works of John Ruskin*, London, 1904, XX: lii. For Ruskin's letter to his mother, see *Works*, XX: liii.

It happens that these two letters of Ruskin's are dated a few days earlier than Norton's letter to Miss Gaskell; but the letters themselves show, beyond possibility of doubt, that they refer to the same time—the day or two which Norton and Ruskin spent together at Florence.

Letters of Charles Eliot Norton, I: 394.

⁷ The italics are mine.

beauty manifest itself as unapproachable in its kind. Lippi is as sincere a monk as Fra Angelico, and he is a much stronger painter.

These are, of course, some of the Lippi paintings which Norton showed Ruskin at Florence. It will be noted that the first, the Annunciation, is one of the two which Norton described as "my favorite Filippo Lippis", the companion to the Coronation of the Virgin. Thus Ruskin not only came to agree with Norton about Lippi's works in general, but even about Norton's "favorite Lippis" in particular.

One of the most interesting examples of Norton's influence on Ruskin is the case of Ruskin's heretical lecture on Michael Angelo. In 1870, as we have seen, Norton was in Italy studying art. From Florence, under date of March 31, he wrote Ruskin a letter which expressed some of the most unorthodox opinions concerning Michael Angelo. Six months later Ruskin was working on his autumn course of Oxford lectures. He then thought enough of the Michael Angelo letter to write Norton of its helpfulness; and this despite the fact that a score of letters had passed between them in the meantime. He said: "A letter you sent me in March on Michael Angelo is of great value.''10 The influence of this letter of Norton's is seen unmistakably in one of the lectures of that year—the one on Michael Angelo, which was the last of the autumn course, and was not given until the succeeding summer. Compare the following excerpts from the letter and from this lec-Michael Angelo's inability to express himself:

Norton's letter: Mainly I have been studying Dante and Michael Angelo . . . Michael seems to me one of the greatest and awk-wardest of mankind. He never could express himself." Had he been able to do so he would have stood fairly and squarely by the side of Dante . . .

Ruskin's lecture: Nearly every existing work of Michael Angelo is an attempt to execute something beyond his power."

The Works of John Ruskin, London, 1904, XXI: 124.

[•] Letters of Charles Ellot Norton.

¹⁴ Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton, Sept. 9, 1870.

¹¹ Throughout this comparison, the italics are mine.

¹³ See Aratra Pentelici, 1890, Lecture VII.

Michael Angelo's lack of taste:

Norton's letter: There is no other artist so puzzling as this [Michael Angelo],—none with so much power combined with so little taste.

Ruskin's lecture: If you have been a student of Michael Angelo chiefly, you may easily have *vitiated your taste* to the extent of thinking this ["bandages" on the heads of Michael Angelo's figures] is a dignified costume . . .

The waves of hair in a single figure of Tintoret's (the Mary Magdalen of the Paradise) contain more intellectual design in themselves alone than all the folds of unseemly linen [drapery on Michael Angelo's figures] in the Sistine Chapel put together . . .

Michael Angelo's coldness (lack of passion):

Norton's letter: There is no other artist so sensitive at once and so cold [as Michael Angelo].

Ruskin's lecture: In the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, and the Last Judgment of Tintoret, it is the wrath of the Dies Irae, not its justice, in which they delight; and their only passionate thought of the coming of Christ in the clouds, is that all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him . . .

Note that in the following excerpt from Ruskin's lecture, Michael Angelo's failure to express himself, his coldness (lack of passion), and his bad taste are all shown:

You have heard from your youth up (and all educated persons have heard for three centuries), of this Last Judgment of his [Michael Angelo], as the most sublime picture in existence.

The subject of it is one which should certainly be interesting to you, in one of two ways.

If you never expect to be judged for any of your own doings, and the tradition of the coming of Christ is to you as an idle tale—still, think what a wonderful tale it would be, were it well told. You are at liberty, disbelieving it, to range the fields—Elysian and Tartarean—of all imagination. You may play with it, since it is false; and what a play would it not be, well written? Do you think the tragedy, or the miracle play, or the infinitely Divina Commedia of the Judgment of the astonished living who were dead—the undeceiving of the sight of every human soul, understanding in an instant all the shallow, and depth of past life and future,—face to face with both,—and with God:—this apocalypse to all intellect, and completion to all passion, this minute and individual drama of the perfected history of separate spirits, and of their finally ac-

complished affections!—think you, I say, all this was well told by mere heaps of dark bodies curled and convulsed in space, and fall as of a crowd from a scaffolding, in writhed concretions of muscular pain?

An examination of his works shows that Ruskin had never uttered these ideas previous to the date of Norton's letter. The striking nature of Norton's criticisms; the fact that Ruskin had never made such criticisms, but repeated and elaborated them soon after receiving the letter; and the fact that Ruskin is known to have had a very high opinion of Norton's judgment on art—these facts, it seems to me, leave no doubt that the letter influenced the lecture. There are other criticisms in the letter—such as Michael Angelo's academicism, and his being greatly injured by the times in which he lived—which Ruskin had previously made or suggested, but which, after receiving Norton's letter, he repeated with tenfold greater energy.

But this is not the end of Norton's influence on this lecture. In his preface to *Aratra Pentelici*, in which the first six of this series of lectures were published, Ruskin makes it plain that his published lectures are by no means identical with the spoken:

The lectures have been amplified in arranging them for the press, and the portions of them trusted at the time to extempore delivery . . . have been in substance to the best of my power set down, and in what I said too imperfectly, completed . . .

I shall continue in future to make similar applications; rarely, indeed, permitting myself, in the lectures actually read before the University, to introduce subjects of instant, and therefore too exciting, interest; but completing the addresses which I prepare for publication in these, and in any other particulars, which may render them more widely serviceable.

This preface is dated six months earlier than the one to the lecture on Michael Angelo. The Michael Angelo lecture was delivered at Oxford in June, 1871. In July, Norton, who had remained until then in Italy studying art, and was just starting for home, wrote Ruskin a long letter giving the results of his study of Michael Angelo and Tintoret. This let-

ter was full of the most striking opinions, practically every one of which appeared later in the published form of Ruskin's lecture, but which Ruskin had never expressed before. unless in the oral lecture, which Norton had neither heard nor read a report of. One such opinion was Norton's condemnation of Tintoret's Last Judgment, and, by plain implication, of Michael Angelo's Last Judgment, which had hitherto been considered "the most sublime picture in existence."18 Others were Norton's contention that Michael Angelo was inferior to Tintoret; that Michael Angelo was lacking in facility and imagination; and that his works are characterized by "too strong expression" and "too strongly marked action" (the "violence of transitional action" of the lecture). Like Norton's first letter, this one contained some opinions which had been stated or hinted in Ruskin's earlier works,—such as Michael Angelo's self-consciousness and vanity,—and which in the lecture were repeated and made stronger than ever. As we do not know just what the spoken form of the lecture contained, we cannot be certain as to the influence of this second letter. One has his choice between believing in a staggering number of coincidences-in Norton's and Ruskin's having worked out all these unusual conclusions at the same time independently or believing that Norton's second letter, as well as the first, influenced Ruskin's lecture. It could not have been that Ruskin gave Norton these new opinions; for Norton did not know that Ruskin held them, as is proved by the following letter from Ruskin relative to Norton's second Michael Angelo Ruskin's letter also shows that in the meantime he had written out the lecture and sent it to Norton:

Denmark Hill, 10th August, 1871.

My dearest Charles,—I have to thank you for your letter on Michael Angelo, but I think I must have missed one since, for I am nearly certain you must have written after reading my lecture to say that you were pleased at our feeling so exactly alike.



²² Under another point, excerpts are quoted above which show how the lecture condemned these pictures. See pp. 304 and 305.

Before leaving this point we should note that Norton had an opportunity to make the final revision of the lecture. As was the case with many of his books, Ruskin sent Norton the proof-sheets of the series of lectures to which the one on Michael Angelo belonged, asking for criticisms and suggestions. On November 6, 1871, he wrote:

I shall send you the last revises of the Lectures as they are printed, so that any helpful comment or caution may reach me so as to leave me yet a moment for repentance.

In a letter written nine days later, Ruskin shows that the first sheets have been sent, and that the others will follow.

Another striking instance of Norton's influence on Ruskin is the case of Giotto. In 1874, Norton was at Harvard teaching "the History of the Arts of Construction and Design and their Relation to Literature." On June 19th of this year, Ruskin, then at the Monastery of Assisi working on Giotto's Poverty, wrote him as follows:

On the whole I am greatly disappointed with Giotto, on close study—and on the contrary, altogether amazed at the power of Cimabue . . . At last I set myself on it [Cimabue's Madonna of the Scuola Greca] on a bright day and upset Giotto from his pedestal in a minute or two's close look.

Two days later he wrote again concerning Giotto and Cimabue:

You will comprehend in a moment what a new subject of investigation this is to me, and the extraordinary range of unexpected interests and reversed ideas which it involves. Giotto is a mere domestic gossip compared to Cimabue.

Now, Norton believed that Giotto was one of the greatest Italian painters that had ever lived; and this opinion he had formed only after long and careful study. On July 10, he replied to Ruskin's two letters as follows:

I have today your second letter from your cell in the monastery.

Alas! poor Giotto. I cannot let him go. I believe in him still in spite of your words. But I rejoice that you have found Cimabue for us But Giotto,—because Cimabue is great, he

is not little. Let us have two great instead of one. Have we not known that brave men lived before Agamemnon?

I wish I were with you, that we might talk together. I will write soon again.

On the 12th of August, Ruskin replied to this letter, writing from Lucca:

Before going to bed must answer about Cimabue. Giotto is not dethroned—at least, not diminished—in his own real place, which is of human passion. In mystic and majestic thought, Cimabue leads wholly, and the Byzantines generally. Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi are loving realists of little things. The finest thing of Giotto's in Assisi is not the "Poverty" or "Chastity" but a little group of people in the street, looking at a boy who has just been restored to life, after falling out of a three pair of stairs window. The Christ, St. Francis, and Charity, are all three total failures in the great Poverty fresco; and in the Charity, she herself and Fortitude are quite valueless; while Obedience in the opposite one is monstrous. But the sweetness of a monk reading on the grass while St. Francis receives the stigmata, and the sudden passion of a woman clapping her hands and thanking God for the boy brought to life, are more pure and exquisite than anything of the subsequent schools.

Norton's answer to this is dated August 30:

What you say of Giotto and Cimabue is of the greatest interest, and I am quite ready to believe in the deeper spiritual or mystic thought of the earlier painter. There was a distinct change in spirit in Italy in the thirteenth century, a decline in simplicity and purity and depth of feeling, and an increase in worldliness The reconciliation of the purity of youth with the power of maturity has never been achieved in life or art Italian architecture from 1150 to 1250 is certainly much nobler in design than that of the next century. It implied higher qualities of soul, but it lacks that quality of "mastery" which later buildings display. It is more solemn, serious, religious, but it corresponds little to the varieties of human moods and experience.

Two more short excerpts from Ruskin's letters, relative to Cimabue and Giotto, are of interest:

LUCCA, FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION.

MY DEAREST CHARLES,-

I am writing my account of Giotto's "Poverty," for you, and for others who care for it.



LUCCA. 21ST SEPTEMBER.

omission, as editor] I had been writing in the morning a piece a little making amends to Giotto, as I hope you will think, about four frescoes I have found, which nobody knows anything of, in a back cloister of Santa Maria Novella [Norton's omission, as editor].

The next year, in his Mornings in Florence, Ruskin records an estimate of Giotto and Cimabue which shows that he has come to have the "two great instead of one," with the preference given to Giotto:

If there be one artist, more than another, whose work it is desirable that you should examine in Florence, supposing that you care for old art at all, it is Giotto. You can see work of his at Assisi; but it is not likely you will stop there to any purpose.

Cimabue—Etruscan born, gave, we saw, the life of the Norman to the tradition of the Greek: eager action to holy contemplation.

And what more is left for his favorite shepherd boy Giotto to do, than this, except to paint with ever increasing skill? We fancy he only surpasses Cimabue—eclipsed by greater brightness.

He had in the meantime discussed Cimabue and Giotto in a brilliant course of Oxford lectures on *The Aesthetic and Mathematic Schools of Florence*, where he classed them as the aesthetic masters.

In several ways, Norton exerted an extraordinary influence on Ruskin's work. For one thing, he prevented the publication of what would have been one of the most interesting books ever issued. To appreciate this fact, we need to recall something of the love of Ruskin and his art pupil, the beautiful and brilliant Irish girl, Rose La Touche. In the painful conflict between her love for him and what she conceived to be her religious duty, she alternately held out hope and withdrew it. Their unhappy love had much to do with Ruskin's mental trouble, and with her mental disorder and early death. His letters to her were doubtless the most beautiful writings that ever came from his gifted pen. The brilliance and sweetness of hers may be seen from the two

or three which exist—from the following, for instance, one of the first, written when she was only thirteen:

I got your letter just as we were going out riding. So I could only give it one peep, and then tucked it into my riding-habit pocket and pinned it down, so that it could be talking to me while I was riding. I had to shut my mouth so tight when I met Mamma, for she would have taken it and read it if I'd told her, and it wouldn't have gone on riding with me. As it was, we ran rather a chance of me and pocket and letter and all being suddenly lodged in a stubble-field, for Swallow (that's Emily's animal that I always ride now) was in such tremendous spirits about having your handwriting on his back that he took to kicking and jumping in such a way, till I felt like a Stormy Petrel riding a great wave, so you may imagine I could not spare a hand to unpin my dear pocket, and had to wait in patience, till Swallow had done "flying, flying South", and we were safe home again.

This remarkable correspondence continued for thirteen years after the date of this letter—until her death. While he lived. Ruskin kept her letters to him, and his to her, in a rosewood box-except one, which he carried in his breast pocket, between plates of fine gold. After Ruskin's death, Norton and Mrs. Severn, Ruskin's cousin, took these letters to the garden and gave them to the flames. No one who knows Norton's feelings in such matters can doubt that, whatever the other literary executors may have done, he insisted on this step. The man who regretted that he had not destroyed Ruskin's letters to him as he received them, to prevent so intimate a friendship from being paraded before the world; who, when forced to publish the correspondence, struck out the passages in which Ruskin had given him greatest praise and credit,14 and destroyed most of his own letters to Ruskin; and who protested bitterly against Froude's publication of Carlyle's private correspondence and diaries this man, characterized always by a deep reserve, felt that the love-letters of his dead friend were too sacred for publication.



²⁴ It was William James who first observed this (see his letter to Norton in *Letters of Charles Ellot Norton*, II: 848); but it does not require a great psychologist to see it.

But if we blame Norton for keeping this section of Ruskin's writings from the world, we have him to thank for three of the most delightful volumes in the English language. After Ruskin had a nervous collapse, Norton, both for the sake of the book which would be produced, and because he felt that such occupation would be better for his friend than exciting social and political work, advised him to occupy his time with writing reminiscences of his own life. Autobiographical sketches began to appear in Fors Clavigera. Then Norton suggested that the autobiography be made into a separate book. This was undertaken. The work proved soothing to the jangled nerves of the great writer; and its product was—Praeterita.

Finally, in 1890, Norton rendered Ruskin a great service and exerted no small influence on his writings, by introducing his works into America. Previous to that time Ruskin's books were issued here only in pirated editions. As Ruskin laughingly said, "They got themselves published in America." The result was that Ruskin was robbed of the fruits of his labor, not only in this country, but also, to a considerable extent, at home, for large numbers of these pirated editions were smuggled into England. One American publisher, indeed, Wiley of New York, offered Ruskin a large sum of money, covering royalties on all past as well as on all future editions, provided Ruskin would designate him as his only authorized American publisher. But Wiley made no arrangements to reproduce the books in Ruskin's own style and under competent supervision, and Ruskin refused to sanction the Wiley editions. In 1890, about the time of our international copyright law, Norton undertook to supervise the



¹⁵ See in Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton Ruskin's letter of September 11, 1868. It shows Ruskin, at this early date, promising Norton to write an autobiography. "Some day," he says, "but not now, I will set down a few things, but the more you understand, the less you will care for me," etc.

See Collingwood's Life of Ruskin, II: 540. Collingwood's statement that Norton caused Ruskin to begin this autobiographical work, was read and approved by Ruskin's cousin, Mrs. Severn, who lived in the Ruskin home until her marriage, after which Ruskin made his home with her. See also E. T. Cook's Life of Ruskin, Frederic Harrison's John Ruskin, in Buglish Men of Letters, the Dictionary of National Biography, etc.

publication of Ruskin's books in this country, and to introduce them to the American public. He edited the "Brantwood" edition, published by C. E. Merrill and Co., of New York. It proved in every way satisfactory. There was no one else whose introduction of Ruskin's works into America could have been so influential. Because of his known integrity, his knowledge of Mr. Ruskin, his large circle of cultured friends and acquaintances, and his prestige as traveller and art student, as Professor of Fine Art in Harvard University, as an editor, translator, and author of books, and as a contributor to the North American Review and the Atlantic Monthly-because of these things, I say, Norton spoke with authority and was heard with confidence. each book Norton gave a separate, signed introduction. These numerous introductions do three important things: they give considerable information concerning the life of the author and the circumstances under which the various books were written; they appeal to the American public to give Mr. Ruskin fair treatment: and they interpret Mr. Ruskin's works to American readers, condemning frankly what seems wrong, praising freely what is worthy of praise, and explaining how a given book may be used to the greatest advantage. Thus did Norton, at one stroke, exert an important influence on all of Ruskin's works.

CHARACTER-PORTRAYAL IN THE WORK OF HENRY JAMES

WILLIAM B. CAIRNS

No question raised by the work of Henry James elicits greater difference of opinion than that regarding the "reality" of the characters in his novels. In the comments that appeared on the occasion of his death may be found praise for the creation of a gallery of vivid, almost tangible men and women, and the denial that any of his people have a semblance of actual life. While the matter is one on which critics have often contented themselves with dogmatic assertion, it at first sight seems strange that even unconsidered impressions should differ so widely.

The people in James's stories are surely more important than his plots, and his devices for characterization, whether successful or not, are among the most distinctive of his literary methods. Almost in the beginning of his work he learned that it is persons of different training and standards who most clearly see each other's peculiarities. It was rather this fact than any fondness for describing sights and scenes of travel that led him to write the so-called "international novel." He placed his Americans abroad because in a foreign setting their virtues and weaknesses stood out more distinctly, and because it was useful to see European civilization through their eyes. For a similar reason he made free use, in planning his settings, of pensions catering to cosmopolitan patronage, of English country-house parties, and of other scenes where heterogeneous groups of people are brought together. method appears in its nakedness in sketches like A Bundle of Letters and The Point of View, where persons of different nationalities and social position record in letters and diaries their frank impressions of one another. It is little more disguised in The Pension Beaurepas and Daisy Miller, where the differences of standard lead to slight plot-complications. It is still obvious in such longer works as The American and The Ambassadors, and may be found in many others, such as The Portrait of a Lady, and The Golden Bowl.

In this portrayal of differing characters James is rarely an obvious partisan, though he takes no pains to be a neutral. In Daisy Miller, for example, he paints the picture, and leaves the reader to excuse or to condemn as he will. Roman matrons and American matrons long resident in Rome were shocked that a girl should walk out alone with a gentleman. Daisy's circle at Schenectady would have been horrified at the idea, natural enough to the European mind, that Winterbourne was staying on at Geneva because of an affair with a married woman older than himself. The casual mention of this bit of gossip, which has no connection with the plot. serves to set two standards over against each other, and may be suggestive to the reader who is thoughtlessly adopting the European point of view. The device is typical of the author. Christopher Newman in The American displays both likable and unfortunate traits, and one sees the good as well as the bad in the conservative French family life. Lambert Strether in The Ambassadors is clearly a figure with whom the author has sympathy, yet all the Parisian manners and morals that aid in his development are not offered for ap-There is no special pleading for any class or country, no pleading even for the favorite idea of the cheap moralist that there is some good and some bad everywhere. reader is apparently left to draw his own conclusions and to evolve his own philosophy, as he is when he sees life at first hand; yet he will find on consideration that the organizing and unifying touch of the artist has had much to do in determining his judgment.

It was probably through this method of character-portrayal that the author came to develop another distinctive peculiarity of his art—the use of a person centrally placed in the story as a "register" or "reflector" of other characters and of the action. This device was by no means new, in the novel or in the drama, but it had never before been used so fully, so depended upon for giving artistic unity to the story, and focusing the mind on the center of interest. James himself discusses this device in several of his prefaces. times the register is the same throughout a novel, as in What Maisie Knew, where all the other characters are seen through Maisie herself. Often it is changed, and the skill with which the change is made, and with which it is adapted to the desired effects shows the author's mastery of his art. In The Wings of the Dove Kate Croy at first serves as a register through whose consciousness we see other characters. Later, when she surprises us by the suggestion that her betrothed make love to another woman, we see her only through the consciousness of others. The two volumes of The Golden Bowl are named respectively "The Prince" and "The Princess," and though the course of the action is uninterrupted we see the first part through one, the second part through the other of the two chief characters. This treatment not only serves to unify the reader's impression, but by the very indirectness of the view it gives vividness and reality to the characterization.

Most of the persons in Henry James's stories are intensely modern in their relations to life, and many of them belong to the higher and hence more complex orders of society. is not due to snobbishness, as some unfriendly critics have suggested. The loving portrayal of humble characters like Mrs. Hudson and Miss Pynsent and Mr. Rush would alone show this: and the author's success in the delineation of children points in the same direction. It is rather that he finds most interest, not in elemental human passions, but in complex emotional experiences. He complains that Flaubert's characters are too narrow, and says of Madame Bovary. "We feel her less illustrational than she might have been not only if the world had offered her more points of contact, but if she had had more of these to give it." Always there have been authors attracted by subtler emotional phenomena, who preferred to study

waking souls
That watch not one another out of fear,

rather than the progress of a Darby and Joan love affair. James differs from the earlier "metaphysicals" in that he often finds the source of emotional complications in the conditions of highly organized social life rather than in hidden psychological springs. In this he sometimes suggests Browning. His characters are nineteenth century Caucasians whom a person in reasonably good society might know. There is not the variety of races, classes, and conditions that are found in the pages of Jack London or Mr. Kipling, yet the range is by no means narrow. His men are not all of the same type—and emphatically is this true of his women.

In this connection, it may be noted that, though women are said to constitute a great share of the readers of Henry James, this is hardly due to their fondness for his female Most of his heroines have a place in the honorable company of those whom men admire and women disapprove. Isabel Archer, so one's friends tell him, is too selfcentered, and Maggie Verver lacks spirit, and Biddy Dormer is too unimpressive, and Milly Theale-well, it seems hard to get specific charges against poor Milly, but one's feminine acquaintances always give him to understand that they don't like her style. Yet all of these characters enlist the admiration and some of them the intense devotion of male readers. Daisy Miller, good fun as she is, and nice girl as she surely is at heart, probably secures defense against Mrs. Grundy more from a sense of justice than because she enlists unqualified approval.

To the charge, frequently made, that Henry James's characters are over-subtle, the admirers of the novelist may plead a partial extenuation and a partial denial. In order to present delicate, complex, and almost subconscious mental experiences it is sometimes necessary that an artist represent a character as preternaturally keen in self-analysis, or the "register" in whom the character is seen as unduly subtle in perception, and perhaps in conversation. The story-teller is often troubled to find a way of revealing hidden facts that the reader must know. The conventional, crude, often ludicrous devices of the photo-play show how extreme are the

difficulties of the narrator who must proceed without the spoken word. And in many situations, particularly those involving experiences that result in no overt action, the novelist finds the naturally spoken word impossible. A writer like Hawthorne, who is himself the register for his characters, frankly tells at length and with all necessary authorial comment the most secret workings of their minds and hearts. James, who uses another character as a register, is sometimes forced to make that character unduly clever and acute. This is a mere artist's device, like the aside, the soliloquy, the explanatory conversation in the work of the dramatists. Like all conventional devices, it is open to objection, but can fairly be condemned only when it becomes obtrusive, or when the critic can suggest a better way of producing the same effect. Some of James's characters undoubtedly talk more subtly than do our friends; and for a similar reason they are often more frank in the discussion of personal affairs. Occasionally he carries the trick too far. But to object solely on the ground of reality is much like objecting to all dramatic conversation in blank verse. This subtlety on the part of an observer, used by the author for the sake of portraying character and revealing mental experience, is one thing, and essential subtlety in the character portrayed is another, yet the two are often confused. Very few of the important characters are really subtle in the sense that they are given to metaphysical speculations, to action from unreasonably recondite motives, or to hair-splitting in matters of conscience.

Notwithstanding ample testimony to the opposite effect, the genuinely sympathetic reader of Henry James maintains that aside from this assumed subtlety the characters are intensely real. Their actions sometimes perplex us, as do those of acquaintances in real life. We cannot always comprehend their motives; but they stand out as living men and women, to be speculated on, and wondered over, and fairly to be gossiped about. What did Henry St. George, in The Lesson of the Master, really have in mind in his advice to his young disciple? What sort of woman was the first Mrs. St. George?

What were her relations to Lord Mashem? Did she really manage her husband? Questions like these, mixed, let us hasten to add, with others more important, are left in our minds after we read the story. The very fact that such inquiries are trivial, perhaps unworthy of us, is evidence that we think of these people in much the same way as those we met last summer at Mrs. So-and-so's, or the family in the apartment upstairs. It is difficult to see how the sort of girl Kate Croy seemed at first should do the things she did later; but, sad to say, we have all had similar disappointments with other people, and our failure to understand her never raises a doubt as to her reality. An amusing testimony to this illusion of solidity and genuineness is afforded by criticisms of Daisy Miller. More than one patriotic American objected that James had portrayed as frivolous a girl who, it was easy to demonstrate, was good and womanly at heart. It took Mr. Howells to point out, with some irony, that Daisy Miller's qualities were exactly what the author had made them: that it was he who put the goodness and the womanliness there; and that the critics had been fooled not only into thinking of her as a real person, but into feeling that they understood her better than her creator.

Probably not all who agree that Henry James's characters are real and lifelike find that they also arouse particular in-Whether fictitious characters are interesting or not is likely, with many readers, to resolve itself into a question whether they stir the emotions. Some people complain that the people of James's novels are not lovable or hateable, that, to use a frequent phrase, they leave us cold. Clearly the author desires more, relatively, of intellectual interest than do some story-tellers; but does he disregard the emotional interest? Certainly Ralph Touchett is, to some of us, a lovable character, and, to stick to the persons of one book, neither he nor Isabel Archer leaves all of us cold. That they do not warm us more, and that they do not warm some readers at all is not because of their personalities, but because of the lack of action especially calculated to arouse feeling. In real life love may beget love, and distrust, distrust, without

much obvious expression of the feeling in action. But in fiction it is the plot and the incidents in which the characters take part, rather than the personal qualities of the characters themselves, which move the reader's emotions. Plenty of James's characters could warm us enough if he had put them in a different sort of novel—that is, if he had shown them in melodramatic scenes.

The question whether James's men and women are real and interesting is inextricably bound up with the larger question whether his view of the novel is the true one. A novelist should, according to his idea, record a personal impression of life. Now "life" is, at least according to the dictionaries, the broadest of terms, including both the simple actions and the elementary instincts common to all men since the days of the cave-dwellers, and the intricate experiences and complicated motives of modern existence. There may be as many impressions of life as there are observers to be impressed. The possible varieties of the novel, according to the definition given, are therefore innumerable; and the appreciation of one form does not preclude the enjoyment of another. many readers who are fairly catholic in their tastes stop short at the variety offered by Henry James. Probably no other recent novelist has been so harshly criticised. Usually readers who do not care for a story-teller are content to let him alone, but in this case they have felt impelled to objurgation. Part of this violent dislike comes from his obscurity and his mannerisms, but more of it comes from a disapproval of the impression of life that he chooses to give. Indeed, there is a popular usage that would almost deny the word "life" to the form of human existence that he presents. If a boy beats about the slums, and pastes labels on blackingboxes, or ships as a sailor before the mast, all agree that he has seen "life." But if another boy learns something of the art of two hemispheres, and comes in contact with men of intellectual and social power, and finds his adventure in reading the Revue des deux Mondes, and burying his face in newly-imported volumes for the "English smell" of printer's ink, commentators are likely to remark that he "has had no

experience with life at first hand." It is needless to quibble over terms; and if the two boys become novelists, it is needless to decide a priori which is the better of the two different kinds of books they will write; but in the democracy of to-day the second will surely receive least sympathy. In a recent volume of American criticism a well-known authority complains of James in the usual fashion:

Of strong, elemental men and women, the personalities shown by novelists like Fielding and Tolstoy and Hardy and Mark Twain, he knows nothing.

Within this narrow circle of Europe-visiting, highly civilized, occupationless men and women, James is at his best.

But a highly civilized man is a man for a' that, and it may be fairly asked why he is not an approved subject for treatment in fiction. One reason is that the visible happenings of conventional society do not stir the emotions like murder, and elopements, and deeds of physical prowess, and the tender manifestations of young love. If Christopher Newman had scaled the convent wall and carried off his mistress, if Isabel Archer had plotted dark revenge on Madame Merle and run away with her impetuous American lover, if in the tense scene at Fawns the Princess had madly denounced Mrs. Verver and later stabbed her husband, the readers would have been thrilled, and would have pronounced the actors "elemental." This sort of thing is good, and it is to be hoped everybody enjoys it part of the time-more of the time, for that matter, than any other kind of story. When he does there are Scott and Cooper and Stevenson and the writers whom our critic names to supply his wants. But most of the interesting women we actually know are more like Isabel Archer than like Hardy's Tess. And they too are women, and their experiences in love, in suffering, in the endurance of wrong are also life. And this life is just as valuable a subject of observation as the other.

So one may argue without in the least convincing those who dislike the novelist of modern society. This may be because the treatment of complex life requires so much analysis and analysis retards the story. Simpler characters, under simpler

conditions, act from motives that are easily understood. If a woman murders her faithless husband there is no great need of psychological subtleties. The reader says "jealousy," and there is an end of the matter. But if she conceals and endures and fails to accuse in the presence of certainty, and puts on a brave front before the world, that is because of the action of many forces. She, too, has within her nature the "elemental" passions, else they would not be elemental. But she is also influenced by the repression of conventionality, the pull of various aspects of duty, and many other motives, some working unknown to her in the depths of her consciousness, and all impelling her in different directions. What the resultant will be is a most complicated problem, and in justifying his answer to the reader the author must resort to much analysis. The Golden Bowl could hardly be represented in moving pictures. As the amount of striking incident decreases the slow and subtle discussion of motives must increase, and when the outcome of the motives is at last seen, even this is often not unusual or violent.

In the view of his admirers, Henry James as a novelist gives life, not as it used to be, or as it may be under some strange surroundings, or even as we might like to make it in a world created by ourselves, but very much as we have known it to be. He leaves us thinking of his characters as we think of real men and women. He makes us feel the immense number of forces, external and internal, that compass men about and compel their actions, especially in the crises of their lives. And he does all this as an artist, and in spite of regrettable mannerisms and a possible over-emphasis on technique gives us novels consciously rounded and finished as English novels have not been before. Is this over-ingenuity, and triviality, and dilettantism? or is it the development of a higher and more satisfying art? The answer is bound to depend, after all, on the temperament and the philosophy cf life of the reader; and, as James's characters so often say, "There you are."

SOME INFLUENCES OF MEREDITH'S PHILOSOPHY UPON HIS FICTION

O. J. CAMPBELL

The vitality of many characters in George Meredith's novels has always been doubtful. Of late, certain of his heroines and some of those persons who provide sport for his Comic Spirit are gradually fading out of human semblance. This debility is the inevitable result of the lack of authentic creative power in the energy which gave them life. They were brought into being not to signalize an artist's insight into human nature, but to illustrate and to prove a philosopher's ideas. They sprang full-grown from the brain of Meredith the metaphysician.

It is not that his advanced social ideas provided a program for his fiction. His art never suffered that degradation. It is rather that his desire to explain man's place in Nature led him to fashion characters who would make his demonstration most clear. His heroic women, therefore, like Diana and Carinthia, were designed to bring to English society the latest tidings from the processes of Nature. His comic figures, like Sir Willoughby Patterne, Purcell Barrett, and all the members of the Pole family, are the embodiment of those forces which postpone the establishment of the ideal social condition. This state will come into being automatically when each person can express with perfect freedom that part of the old Earth which seeks to blossom in him. These humorous characters were created, then, to furnish food to the chastening Comic Spirit which was to laugh in the millennium.

The women in Meredith's novels whom we are asked to admire, illustrate the conceptions of Nature which are set forth in his poems. They present dramatically the philosophy of his verse. Indeed the relation is even closer than this. They

are rather the culmination,—the triumphant expression, of the eternal processes of Earth. This is the idea that Richard Le Gallienne expresses when he says, "No writer with whom I am acquainted has made us so realize the value and significance of flesh, and spirit as the flower of it. In his women we seem to see the transmutation in process."

Meredith adopted as fundamental to human life and character all the implications of the biological doctrines of evolution. Upon that basis he has built up a philosophy of flux, development and progress which in his mind possesses both metaphysical and human finality. All the needs of his being are satisfied by the philosophy of change. In The Woods of Westermain, where the sympathetic questioner can learn all the truths of Nature, he finds

Change the strongest son of Life Has the Spirit here to wife

and his own spirit finds supreme content in this marriage.

Unlike Tennyson he is ready at all times to

Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change;

for change gives him the rapture of the forward view, which constitutes spiritual life as the mere processes of change do the physical life. The only permanence is death.

Cry we for permanence fast Permanence hangs by the grave.

Nature, Meredith loves then, because she is at once the root and spirit of that change which is life.

In The Woods of Westermain Meredith comprehends this truth in all its human implications. There his mind can peer back through all the stages of evolution,

Back to hours when mind was mud.

In so doing it will learn how inextricably Earth, which is Meredith's favorite symbol for Nature, is interthreaded with him and his kind. Man is sprung from the earth in a very material sense; even his spirit is an emanation from her. When seen aright it is

Spirit in her clods Footway to the God of Gods.

Nature then is eternal development, a more and more vital seething of the procreant Earth. From that cauldron at last has come the blood, brain and spirit of man and woman.

Now woman as Meredith knows her has never forgotten her terrestrial origin. She embodies in her life the simple, direct processes of nature, particularly as contrasted with the irrational complexities and indirections of social life. All his heroes are heroines. "Women will be the last thing to be civilized by man," says one of his aphorists. Meredith certainly did not believe that women ought to be thus civilized. Indeed most of his best novels present dramatically the futile efforts of some man to force an heroic woman to play some one of his trivial civilized games.

The intimate connection between Meredith's women and Nature as he conceived her is shown most clearly in Carinthia Jane of The Amazing Marriage. Indeed her humanity is sometimes quite obscured by her symbolic character. She is strangely akin to the majestic cliffs in Styria among which she spent her youth. She acts rather as one of those crags might have acted if it had suddenly become endowed with consciousness and found itself in the midst of the complexity and subtlety which made up English society. Carinthia is as direct, as simple, single-minded and courageous as such a cliff would have been, and withal as slow, as gaunt and as unimaginative. Meredith's greater women have the defects of their qualities, but their kinship to nature is only emphasized by these forms of heroic awkwardness.

It is of the essence of Meredith's method that he should show us Carinthia for the first time with her brother at their game of "calling the morning"—that is of viewing the sunrise in the mountains. We see her first jumping agilely from a French window to a flower-bed a dozen or so feet below, quoting, as she springs, an aphorism of her father, the old buccaneer, "Mean it when you're doing it." The picture of the dawn which they behold is one of Meredith's best:

The armies of the young sunrise in mountain-lands neighbouring the plains, vast shadows, were marching over woods and meads, black against the edge of golden; and great heights were cut with them, and bounding waters took the leap in silvery radiance to gloom; the bright and dark-banded valleys were like night and morning taking hands down the sweep of their rivers. Immense was the range of vision scudding the peaks and over the illimitable Eastward plains flat to the very East and sources of the sun.

This description is Carinthia's leit-motif. This is the atmosphere which she brings with her even to the open-air prize-fight to which her husband, Lord Fleetwood, conducts her immediately after their marriage.

Gower Woodseer, in his efforts to describe her, says she has "a look of beaten flame: a look of one who runs and at last beholds." And his final phrase is "From minute to minute she is the rock that loses the sun at night and reddens in the morning." These elements of grandeur and simplicity make her a bit gaunt and awkward when moving among the artificial intricacies of social convention. We often share Fleetwood's appreciation of her angularity. When after the marriage ceremony he watches her mount unaided to the coach upon which they are to ride away, he thinks: "'Her stride from the axle of the wheel to the step higher would have been a graceful spectacle on Alpine crags' He had cried for romance—here it was." Yet to us she never loses her great dignity and calm inevitability. Nature's voice is heard in all of her actions. Like nature, too, she plays for seasons not eternities. She is calm, patient beyond human endurance under the monstrous conduct of Lord Fleetwood after their marriage. She bides her time, confident that truth will be discovered and right all. But when she learns that she is the victim of her husband's studied unkindness, her love for him ceases with as little apparent regret from her over the days that are no more as Nature herself shows.

> The pine-tree drops its dead; They are quiet, as under sea.

In a similar way Carinthia drops Fleetwood from her life. To her mind and her feelings he is "as under sea." She has grown to something else and is engrossed in her new present. Her husband, too late won to a love of her, begs her to restore the past. To such requests she is as imperturbable as Nature. To a woman embodying the spirit of life such an entreaty is merely quaint. Carinthia says to Fleetwood:

"My father and my mother spoke to me of the marriage tie. I read the service before I stood at the altar. It is holy. It is dreadful. I will be true to it."

"To your husband?"

"To his name, to his honour."

"To the vow to live with him?"

"My husband broke that for me."

"Carinthia, if he bids you, begs you to renew it? God knows what you may save me from!"

"Pray to God. Do not beg of me, my lord. I have my brother and my little son. No more of husband for me! God has given me a friend too,—a man of humble heart, my brother's friend, my dear Rebecca's husband. He can take them from me; no one but God. See the spendid sky we have."

Carinthia has fed on the advancing hours. The days that are no more are quietly dead. She feels no need to attempt to establish them as a base for her life. She has learned to "scorn the ventral dream of peace unknown in Nature." She has learned from Meredith that

Death is the word of a bovine-day.

Know you the breast of the springing To-be.

This completely frank acceptance of Nature's laws in this somewhat cosmic sense is the main-spring of the actions of all his heroic women. It makes them seem revolutionary when judged by fixed standards which the weak of mankind cling to partly from fear of the unknown—and partly from a delight which those who flourish these fixed laws as whips feel in playing Providence. Carinthia is, let it be granted, somewhat difficult to comprehend in terms of human nature; in terms of Meredith's Nature, the springing "to be," she

stands revealed as a force quite beyond control of the conventions and artificial bonds of sentimental society.

Diana of the Crossways is not so completely a symbol as Carinthia. Part of the time she is a woman whom all can comprehend, yet unless she is regarded in large measure as the spirit of that Nature of Meredith's which is footway to the God of Gods, her conduct at other times will seem incomprehensible and perverse. Meredith anticipates this lack of understanding. "Only those," he says, "who read her woman's blood and character with the head will care for Diana of the Crossways." He certainly does not mean that all her acts must be intellectualized, but that they must be interpreted in the light of Meredith's wisdom as he has unfolded it to us. In other words, she must be regarded as though earth were speaking through her.

Her struggle with her first husband is like that of many another of Meredith's women. She is a simple natural force too large to be shut up in marriage by a man who has not yet doubled Cape Turk. He wanted his wife to "shine as a candle in a grated lanthorn,"—she who was part of the primal fire. She refuses and forms an intimate friendship with old Lord Dannisburgh. Her husband chooses to think such freedom of spirit a sure sign of impurity. He brings a legal process against her and by that mere act looses all the dogs of scandal upon her.

Diana's first impulse when she hears the hounds in full cry is to run. She has not the secondary and derived wisdom that is necessary if one is to play triumphantly the tangled game of artificial society. She always lets her blood, in which Nature flows, speak for her. Fortunately for her reputation her friend, Emma Dunstane, sees the situation with the eyes of sophistication and persuades her to stay and face the process. Her husband fails to prove his case, but Diana feels all the bonds that bind her to him snap. Law, which in England is the voice of a sort of materialist chivalry, binds her to be sure, but to a man who is dead to her. She, like Carinthia, proceeds naturally to

another interest. She casts no wistful eyes back upon the Heaven that she has lost. She becomes an independent woman of the world.

Her career up to this point is comprehensible. Her directness and serene disregard of the past may be expressions of Nature but they are also characteristics, only a little exaggerated, of women as we know them. The crowning indiscretion of her life, the selling of confidential information which her lover Dacier has given her, to the journals does not admit of this conventional explanation. Meredith the philosopher must here be invoked to explain Meredith the artist.

The bare facts of the situation are these. Dacier tells her a piece of exciting political news which she is to keep secret. He is artful enough to know that she will let her delight over the news become immediately pride in the part that he is to play in the events to come. He takes advantage of this enthusiasm to eatch her off her guard and to take her into his arms. At his trick she feels a quick loss of personal respect. She is deeply wounded.

"My dear friend Percy," she says, "when I have consented to be your paramour, this kind of treatment of me will not want apologies."

In spite of this wounded dignity, she knows that Percy has won a confession from her senses. For the moment her "sense is with her senses all mixed in." This is the key to her subsequent action. The simple truth is that the moment after Dacier has left her, Diana goes directly to the editor of a daily newspaper and sells the secret that has been told her in strictest confidence. Moreover she does not realize that her act is treacherous. "Where." ask the critics, "is Diana's much lauded intelligence? Why does it not act in this crisis?" But it does act in just the fashion that Meredith's philosopher of Nature would have desired to have it.

Brain, it must be remembered, was to Meredith no mon-

arch of man by divine right. It is, as it were, but the latest fermentation of Earth.

Never is Earth misread by Brain Which is the welling of her.

Brain ought not to sit in judgment on the emotions or the aspirations of man. The three are deeply interfused.

Blood and brain and spirit three (Say the deepest gnomes of Earth) Join for true felicity.

Are they parted, then expect
Some one sailing will be wrecked.

Earth that Triad is: she hides Joy from him who that divides; Showers it when the three are one Glassing her in union.

Now Diana's cleverness up to this crisis has been the result of this triple union. It has been little more than an astonishing facility in expressing her emotional preferences. Her novels The Princess Egeria and The Young Minister of State are both projections of a life she desires. shown none of the philosophical anxieties of George Eliot's heroines over the choice of possible courses of action. in action a shot from the gun. In the sale of Dacier's secret, Meredith takes particular pains to show us that she acts at a moment when her woman's blood is speaking imperiously. It speaks in defiance to Dacier and in protection of her own It establishes the warm fusion of blood and brain and spirit which boils into action. To use a figure of Mr. Trevelyan, "the soul is born in this flushing of the brain by the blood" and the soul lives only in action, "wind beaten but ascending." So woman is when Nature speaks in her frankly and directly, or if the essence of Meredith's materialism be sound, so is woman when she is most woman; and therefore so she ought to be.

If her actions undertaken at this irresistible behest bring her social opprobrium or disaster, she is simply acting in a most unnaturally constituted society. She is foolishly attempting to use her powers in a male game,—acquiescing, for the moment, in man's futile attempts to civilize her. Critics may call her actions impulse or sheer caprice if they will. The epithet is of no importance; only let them understand how dear such caprice is to Nature,—to her fundamental laws of mutability which in process of time have fashioned spirit out of earth.

Carinthia and Diana are the two women who need most the aid of Meredith's philosophy for their interpretation. The creative principle which has brought to life all his great heroines in the case of these two has proved stronger than the human material which it has breathed upon. They are not always comprehensible when judged by standards of human action, yet they are no mere advocates of a social program. They are the proof of his ideas of natural evolution. They are the women that Nature would produce if she were allowed to work her will unhampered. They are a philosophical ideal and not an artistic reality. To explain them thus, however, is not to give them human vitality. And for the lack of this quality they are fading off into air-born voices.

In depicting those characters who serve as the foils of his heroines Meredith shows a philosophical tendency of different It is, too, a species of idealization and of personi-To protect his women in their fight for Nature he fication. Its function is to drive back has created a Comic Spirit. with laughter all who seek to divert women, or men either, from their simple allegiance to the laws of Earth. spirit must be provided with sport. Without its congenial exercise it will droop and die. We shall find, however. that in its essence it is exotic; consequently the men and women who become the food for its laughter seem homeless. They, like his heroines, come into his novel not out of the England of his day, but out of the void to satisfy a philosophical necessity of their author.

Meredith sought to evoke thoughtful laughter. Its purpose was critical and restrictive. In this respect it was

foreign to traditional modes of mirth in England. comic attitude is primarily French, consciously adopted from Molière. His Essay on Comedy holds up the practice of this French master as the standard of comedy in modern times. M. Bergson in his essay Laughter gives a clear exposition of that intellectual theory of comedy which is based on the practice of Molière, and of which Meredith's work is almost the only English illustration. M. Bergson, as John Palmer in his Comedy has reminded us in this connection. lays down the propositions that the function of laughter is primarily social criticism, and that it appeals to the intelligence directly and simply. For that reason it is incompatible with any sympathetic emotions with the figure who arouses it. "Always rather humiliating," says M. Bergson, "for the one against whom it is directed, laughter is, as a matter of fact, a kind of social teasing." Such is comedy of the intelligence or what is sometimes called pure comedy. It is what Mr. Palmer calls a corrective social gesture. Your Englishman and American, too, is bewildered by such When he is not laughing at sheer physical farce, he laughs always with a certain degree of sympathy. In the fun of Tom Sawyer, as in that of Falstaff, we all share. Meredith, however, wrote comedy like a critic and a French-If we remember that Meredith's ideal society was one in which the natural spirit of man should be unhampered by conventional trivialities, we may say that his comedy is the Gallic social gesture of M. Bergson.

Now the traditional purpose of English comedy is not restrictive, but expansive. The English nature does not take social laws with enough seriousness to be made a butt because it has transgressed them. It finds its merriment, therefore, in those larger incongruities of existence which utterly transcend the mere amenities of civilized intercourse.

Falstaff for this reason is the most successful comic figure in English literature because he represents the crowning incongruity of human existence,—the imprisonment of an unusually nimble spirit in a tun of flesh. The best joke on man, after all, is that he who would mount with the angels must be accompanied everywhere by his body with all its ridiculously trivial functions. Falstaff's wit has wings. yet he sweats to death and lards the lean earth as he walks Yet even laughter at such predicaments of the human spirit reminds us that Falstaff's plight is in some measure our own. Such a conception evokes genial human brotherhood. The characteristics in him that have aroused our mirth make us love him not less but more, and the sort of laughter that he stimulates delights him as much as us. Yet it would be a great mistake to think that Falstaff awakens our amusement by means of physical farce alone. The disasters which overtake his gross body are amusing only because they forge ridiculously incongruous chains for his spirit. The antics of his wit thus handicapped arouse in us a sympathetic zest. A man endowed as he is cannot be laughed at; he communicates his own mirth too quickly to everyone about him. The laughter inspired by such a character is to the last degree genial and expansive.

The English Restoration, to be sure, has been thought to have adapted Molière's ideas of comedy to English literature and to have made them indigenous. The dramatists of the time certainly professed that the purpose of their comedies was corrective and restrictive. They desired, so they said, to purge man of his vices and follies by ridiculing them. Professor Ernest Bernbaum in his recent *Drama of Sensibility* has presented ample evidence to remind us that this was the burden of their critical utterances.

These orthodox critical pronouncements, however, are in no sense real explanations of their authors' dramatic practice. No writer of comedy in the seventeenth century would have dared announce that his plays were composed merely to entertain. Such a confession would have set him against the literary axioms of the ages. If the comedies of the Restoration dramatists were to gain serious respect, they had to announce themselves to be of a sort approved by all the reputable critics. If the authors shrewdly suspected that their comedies were not armed with any austere moral intention, for that reason they would repeat the more

unctuously the commonplaces of Ben Jonson, Rapin, Rymer, and Dryden. These brave words, however, have not succeeded in convincing us that Restoration Comedy is either a moral or a civilizing agent. Wit and not morality is its hero. The immoral and the foolish are exposed, to be sure, but only to find all their acquaintances in the same predicament. Like a group of friends all of whom mistake a mirror for a door, they are very merry in finding the ridiculous strangers whom they have been observing, their very selves.

The effect of such comedy is not, then, in any sense re-No one is ashamed for more than an instant at his exposure. The moment that he sees his friends suffering the same embarrassments, his feeling of discomfort vanishes. Such comedy, instead of being corrective, expands inordinate desires. It showed the bored society of the Restoration, as it shows us, a world filled with infinite zest to be gained through the simple banishment of moral Our delight in these plays is in no way destandards. pendent upon our judgment. Indeed that faculty is completely submerged in a primitive zest for this newly discovered life where only gaiety is sure. The total effect is, then, not at all critical or restrictive. It is rather one of expansive sympathy with the comic figures. This attitude of the spectator, one may readily see, is totally unlike that produced by Molière.

Now Meredith, of course, read Congreve and his contemporaries with delight. His wit is often like theirs, but his comic temper is always different. He makes his readers laugh not in order to communicate to them a spirit of thoughtless gaiety. Like Molière, he writes comedy to curb the extravagance of personal manners and social habits. He wishes to laugh men out of those forms of unnatural behavior which postpone the advent of that pure social condition in which the ways of Earth will determine the nature of all human relations. Comedy with such a mission has little in common with that of the Restoration, it has much in common with that of Molière.

It may be asked, "What if Meredith's comic spirit is thus Does it for that reason condition the reality of the persons whom it ridicules? Does an Englishman become a mere philosophical idea when a Frenchman laughs at him?" The proper answer to these questions is that characters must always exist before the laughter they evoke, and that they must determine its nature. Characters created to keep alive a spirit of comedy imported from abroad are preconceived ideas. Thus an Englishman when ridiculed by a Frenchman is almost sure to become a caricature, and when he appears in French comedy, to become a stage convention. lables in -n (stanzas 11, tan: Morgan: stan: onan; 25, tween races and kinds of people. We laugh in different languages." This sort of barrier Meredith has erected between his humorous characters and their fellow-countrymen. His comic figures are stage Englishmen, created solely to provide thoughtful laughter for a Gallic spirit.

Meredith's sentimentalists are the characters who furnish this spirit with most of its food for laughter. Sentimentalists, in his novels, are all those who pose emotionally. They act in every situation not as they feel but as they believe tradition and social elegance decree that they should feel. They stifle at every turn the voice of Earth which would speak in them. They toy with it and pervert it when it speaks directly in others. Against these enemies of the society which he wishes to establish, Meredith directs his thoughtful laughter.

The three Pole sisters exhibit his comic spirit in its most characteristic attitude. They are trying to climb the social ladder with the aid of the Nice Feelings and Fine Shades. These girls never awaken in us the slightest sympathy. We look down on them from an eminence of serener sanity. They are quite unconscious of the mirth they arouse. Their folly is so engrossing that they cannot be conceived of as joining in the laughter they provoke. In the following scene Adela's folly is adroitly shown us. There she expresses no sincere feeling, but the imitation of an emotion which she believes

¹ Comedy, 5.

that delicacy and subtlety expect her to experience on such an occasion.

A gardener was shaving the lawn.

"Please spare those daisies," cried Emilia. "Why do you cut away daisies?"

The gardener objected that he must really make the lawn smooth. Emilia called to Adela, who came and hearing the case said, "Now, this is nice of you. I like you to love daisies and wish to protect them. They disfigure a lawn, you know." And Adela stooped, and picked one, and called it a pet name, and dropped it.

This is delicate and subtle, yet utterly destructive. It is an exquisite gesture of reproach such as few Frenchmen and no English writer except Meredith knew how to make. Yet nothing in the scene except the daisies is real.

This spirit of critical laughter, moreover, is foreign to our traditions of humour in being completely unsympathetic. It bids our mirth kindle over situations never before thought amusing by English readers. The sentimentalism of the Pole sisters when applied to their own love affairs is fraught with tragic possibilities, because here they are attempting to contradict nature when she speaks most imperiously. Meredith skillfully keeps their actions on a plane of comedy, although we see human lives wrecking themselves through their folly. In this respect he is like his master Molière and some of his frankly comic characters, like Molière's, often seem to the sympathetic-minded Anglo-Saxon pathetic. But just as any one who sees tragedy in the career of Le Misanthrope or Georges Dandin has failed to understand Molière's comic attitude, so anyone who feels at all persistently the tragedy in Alvan, Richmond Roy, or Purcell Barrett, has allowed the essence of Meredith's comic spirit to escape him.

Mr. Barrett is Cornelia Pole's lover. Sandra explains the excessive sensual subtleties of the two by saying "when they meet they talk across a river." The river that flows between them is that of Fine Feelings, and they both think more about them than about each other. Cornelia persists in the duties which she supposes the refinements of her emotions demand of her and lives on in her iridescent mist. Mr. Barrett, a

sentimentalist of a different sort, attitudinizes himself into the one consistently amusing suicide in all English literature. Molière would have been proud of this triumph of comic aloofness. Purcell Barrett is a self-tormenting sentimentalist. The fact that the hours will advance is to him emotional death. He is remorselessly reverential. And this superstitious reverence he wreaks upon Cornelia. "What Cornelia was in the first flaming of his imagination around her, she was always, unaffected by circumstance to remain." As his ideal, she was refused the gift of two legs. He made no tolerant allowance for human laws or natural laws. They both thwarted him. Life from its very nature was bound to make him wretched. But one avenue of peace was open to him. He was forced to leave the universe which would not stand still for him like Joshua's moon in Ajalon.

The paragraph in which he is dismissed displays the essence of Meredith's attitude toward him. His landlady has been amusing him with idle chatter.

When she said: "Your fire shall be lighted tonight to welcome you", the man looked up, and was going to request that the trouble might be spared, but he nodded. His ghost saw the burning fire awaiting him. Or how if it sparkled merrily, and he beheld it with his human eyes that night? His beloved would then have touched him with her hand—yea, brought the dead to life! He jumped to his feet, and dismissed the worthy dame. On both sides of him, Yes and No seemed pressing like two hostile powers that battled for his body. They shrieked in his ears, plucked at his fingers. He heard them hushing deeply as he went to his pistol-case, and drew forth one—he knew not which.

This is pure comedy of a rigorous sort. As such it skillfully holds aloof any sympathy which would condition the sheer thoughtfulness of our laughter. Formed in a different comic tradition, the normal English reader is made uncomfortable by the irresistible impulsion of this new sort of mirth. He laughs, but feels that his laughter is somehow irreverent. No man in this tragic situation would arouse his mirth. Sir Purcell Barrett, he then infers, is no real man. He and his fellow tragic comedians never existed outside the pages of Meredith's novels.

Sir Willoughby Patterne, though not one of the sentimentalists, is like them in being the personification of an abstract conception, not the dramatic presentation of a human being. Mr. Chesterton tells us that he is not a man, he is a vice. It is perhaps truer to say that he is a universal foible created to be destroyed by laughter. Sturge Henderson says, "The aim of the book is Comic drama in the style of Molière, exposition of a single typical character; and within these limits it must be judged." To attempt to see in Sir Willoughby a counterpart of ourselves is then to "introduce a standard of realism disavowed by the author and to miss his conception of Comedy as a stillatory—a condenser." But Sir Willoughby is not a typical character, he is the projection or, if you will, the condensation of an idea. He is the very dragon of self whom Meredith conceives as being at eternal war with the voice of Earth striving to speak in those who must lose themselves in Nature in order to find themselves. has been created by a nimble-witted critic who was compelled to bring into being the material upon which to exercise his faculty.

Certain of Meredith's heroines, then, lose their humanity in becoming the latest flower of the Earth. They are not real, but the ideal of an imaginative materialist. His comic characters appear to have been created not out of the stuff of experience, but out of the needs of his reformatory Comic Spirit.

Not all of Meredith's characters have been thus created by way of his philosophy. In the early part of his career, the artist in him was the stronger. Richard Feverel and Lucy, Evan Harrington and Rose Jocelyn, the Countess de Saldar de Sancorvo, Sandra Belloni, to name but a few, and scores of lesser characters even in his later novels who have no philosophical burden to bear, are moved by impulses of the human nature that we know. The older Meredith grew, the more the artist was submerged by the philosopher.

This intellectual progress is by no means peculiar to Mere-

George Meredith, Novelist, Poet, Reformer, 168.

^{*} Ibid.

dith. Most English novelists who are more than mere observers undergo a similar development. Adam Bede is a better novel than Daniel Deronda, though the latter is the best presentation of the typical human problem as George Eliot saw it. The Return of the Native, probably Hardy's best novel, is not nearly so adequate an expression of the author's pessimism as is Jude the Obscure. Meredith's progress, however, is perhaps the most illuminating to study because in his intellectual growth the two forms of creation can be isolated and compared. In other novelists the general ideas and the particular observation seem but different aspects of the same intellectual process. In Meredith's poetry and in his literary criticism we can see his philosophy in its pure form, as it were, anterior to its dramatization in the novels.

When these ideas of his were once completely formulated, a human being became more important to Meredith for his place in his philosophical system than for his human individuality. Then the meaning of experience became so strong to him, that he lost its tang. Then he ceased filling the veins of his characters with warm human blood and substituted a much less vital ichor brewed in his metaphysical laboratory. Now this has grown cold and the figures in whom it has been coursing have hardened into fixed philosophical concepts.

THE FOWLS IN CHAUCER'S PARLEMENT

WILLARD EDWARD FARNHAM

Although Chaucer's Parlement of Foules shows definite points of relationship to a wide-spread folk-tale which may be called The Contending Lovers, no appeal to such versions of this tale as we have, numerous though they are, can go far toward explaining the fact that the rival suitors in the Parlement are birds, not men and women. In a previous paper¹ I have tried to show that by the nobility of the tercel eagles and by the importance which rank plays in their dispute for the hand of the formel, by the pleading before a judge (in this case Dame Nature), by the perplexity of the judge, by the granting of the choice to the formel, and finally by the all-important indecisive conclusion of the story,—by all these, and perhaps most notably by the last two features, Chaucer's poem earns a right to be classed as a version of The Contending Lovers. The folk-tale is a hoax story told simply to arouse a discussion by its tantalizingly incomplete conclusion. So is the Parlement a hoax when judged by every criterion which we can erect from a study of the folk-tale. Whether Chaucer intended to make his poem an historical allegory or not, the apparent sources furnish a sufficient explanation for the truly vexing peculiarities of his story. Historical allegory, then, is at least unnecessary to one satisfactory interpretation.2

¹The Sources of Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules," Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII (1917): 492ff.

²As I have remarked before (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXXII: 516ff.) interpretation by allegory and interpretation by sources are not mutually exclusive, but yet in the light of our present knowledge the allegorical can only be regarded as superimposed on the nonallegorical theory. Professor O. F. Emerson in a paper which I am sorry to say I inadvertently omitted to mention in the notes to the above article argues very truly that when conventional features are shown for a work all other interpretation is not necessarily excluded. (*What is the Parlement of Foules, Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII: 566ff.)

But in a version of *The Contending Lovers* from *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* by Giovanni da Prato,³ a tale from Chaucer's own time which is essentially similar to the *Parlement*, and in almost all ancient or modern versions of our tale, birds play no part whatever as characters. Obviously, before the love story of the *Parlement* can be fully explained, some account will have to be taken of a process of change or combination whereby human actors become birds.

The conception of animals talking like men and women and acting human comedies and tragedies, which makes possible a large mass of popular and sophisticated bird literature, seems to have its origin in Buddhistic beliefs. India was the birth-place of the fable, and logically so. A country where the orthodox belief in metempsychosis forced man to see souls in animals would inevitably attribute passions, speech, and distinctive human characteristics to animals. The Buddha himself in the Jātakas, or Buddhist birth-stories, appears frequently in an incarnation as an animal, and in several human incarnations he has the accomplishment widely believed in folk-lore to be possible of attainment, the understanding of the language of animals. Very frequently the Jātakas with their gāthas or moral verses, which sum up their teachings, are complete fables, moral and all.

The transmission to Europe of such Oriental apologues and beast fables as we find represented in the *Jātakas* and other eastern collections is a well known and minutely studied phenomenon. Whatever may have been the route by which they came, through Phaedrus, Avianus, Babrius, or other



^{*}Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII: 496ff.

^{*}For representative brief discussions of the matter, see Benfey, Pantschatantrs, I, § 225; Cosquin, Contes populaires de Lorraine, I, introductory essay, p. xxiii; Loiseleur-Deslongchampa, Besai sur les fables indiennes, 1838, p. 6. See also Jacobs, Joseph, The Fables of Aesop, 1839, I: 43ff.

^{*}From among many examples see The Jâtaka, I, tr. Chalmers, Robert, 1895, No. 34: 87ff., Maccha-Jâtaka; same work, III, tr. Francis, H. T., and Neil, R. A., 1897, No. 416: 249. An ability to understand the speech of birds or animals is, of course, too often found attributed to folk-tale heroes in almost every country to require extensive illustrations. It may be interesting, however, to note a case from The Contending Lovers found in the Vetâlapanchavinsati, tale 7, where the second lover has the accomplishment.

western collectors, the beast-tales, both satiric and moral, took a large place in the literature of the Middle Ages. What is still more important for our present discussion, we know that the so-called Fables of Aesop were much esteemed by the Norman French and that they were very popular in England. Marie de France says that she is rhyming in French certain fables which "li reis Alvrez" translated into English. Mr. Jacobs argues for a certain Alfred the Englishman (fl. c. 1170 (A. D.) as the Alfred mentioned, maintaining that it is this translator whom Marie confuses with King Alfred.8 He also argues very plausibly for the existence of "a Jewish dragoman" at the side of Alfred aiding him by making translations from the Arabic. This Jew, named Berachyah ben Natronai ha-Nakdan, has to his credit a collection of fables called Mishle Shu'alim, and Mr. Jacobs thinks that he lived and wrote in England towards the end of the twelfth century.10

At any rate, the Middle Ages had in its tales, its bestiaries, and its poetry, no small stock of animal-lore, much of it Oriental in origin. The use of animals as talking and acting characters runs a wide gamut of variation. Frequently the animals do things and say things which are obviously intended to point a moral, as in the fable proper. Often this moral is carefully laid out in the conclusion of the tale so that there is no mistaking it on the part of the reader. Another class of beast-tale, however, is that which Mr. Jacobs calls satiric.11 In this the teller aims a satiric shaft at the world and its foibles. Examples are stories of Reynard, and from our own day the stories of Uncle Remus. Again animal characters in medieval literature may be of the stiff and formal sort which we find in a well defined class of poems dealing with bird- or animal- parliaments. Here drollness or sprightliness is lacking and the beasts give us desperately wearisome

Jacobs, Joseph, The Fables of Acsop, 1889, I: 158ff.

de France, Marie, Fables, Epil., v. 16., quoted by Jacobs.

^{*} Ibid., I: 167ff.

^{*} Ibid., I: 168ff.

[&]quot; Ibid., I: 175.

¹¹ For his classification see work cited, I: 206ff.

platitudes meant to be good advice.¹² But aside from these classes of literature we have stories and poems which introduce animal or bird characters for themselves alone, not for the purpose of pointing the inevitable moral or of displaying wisdom. Here the beast actors assume a purely artistic rôle, such as that played by the beasts who help the hero in the well known folk-tale *The Thankful Animals*, or, to take an example of quite another sort, such as that played by the birds in the highly sophisticated love-vision poetry.¹³

Now it is fairly obvious that in some way certain beast-tale conventions have found their way into the Parlement of Foules. and that as we find them they constitute threads in a literary fabric which we already know to be closely woven of several different colored strands. Attempts to discover possible sources for the Parlement have almost always been directed toward the turning up of literature in which appear birds to a greater or less degree comparable to those in the Parlement. Strange to say, however, The Contending Lovers, very similar in the essential features of its plot to the love story in the Parlement. does not furnish a set of bird lovers like those in Chaucer's poem. Often in material suggested as a source for the Parlement we have had birds but no love story; in The Contending Lovers we have the story but no birds. The problem is to find the most likely sources for the kind of bird actors which Chaucer uses.

Before we go farther it would be well to take stock of possibilities. Parts of beast-tale tradition are mixed with The Contending Lovers, helping to make the poetic and imaginative version of our hoax which comes from Chaucer's hand. The usual version of the folk-tale shows no such mixture. Thus the question at once arises: to whom are we to give credit for this fitting and joining? Did Chaucer find birds as the lovers in his source or did he not? There are distinctly two possibilities here, and consideration of each will raise highly interesting questions. If Chaucer himself fitted and joined the bird-lore to The Contending Lovers,

¹² For a brief discussion of these poems see pp. 360, 361 below.

²³ This will also be discussed later. See pp. 362-364 below.

where did he find his inspiration for the birds, their traits, and the rôles they play? If the combination of elements came to him already made, what shape did it assume before he worked with it, and how did he see fit to modify it? Chaucer the literary craftsman is certainly involved in these problems.

There is one work which contains inspirational possibilities for Chaucer's birds, and since it is the one work of the sort which Chaucer mentions by name, we are justified in examining it first of all and disposing of it. The De Planctu Naturae of Alanus de Insulis has been much discussed as the source of the main idea of the Parlement. Now, however, the opinion seems to be growing that as a source for the real story the Planctus is wholly impossible, however much it may have furnished Chaucer hints for his description of Nature and for certain other details.¹⁴ In Alanus there is a list of birds, which tallies at many points with Chaucer's enumeration of birds present at the parliament. This list very possibly, nay, probably, aided mere memory and personal observation when Chaucer came to name and characterize the individuals in his assemblage.

But Chaucer did not follow Alanus slavishly even here. A brief review of the facts will show this. Alanus¹⁵ describes Nature as robed in a garment of beautiful changing hues on which "as a picture fancied to the sight" is being held a parliament of the living creation. Thirty-two birds are mentioned, each being briefly characterized after the fashion in Chaucer. In the *Parlement* there are about the same number, thirty-six to be exact, but there are many changes in the personnel. For instance, we find in Alain but not in Chaucer mention of the ostrich, the phœnix, the wild cock, the partridge, the parrot, the hedgesparrow, the lark, and that



²² I have discussed the *Planctus* briefly from this viewpoint in the previous paper already referred to, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII: 492ff.

³⁵ For the passage in question see Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets, ed. T. Wright, II: 437; or see Skeat's Chaucer, I: 74, where it is quoted in full. A translation has been made by Moffat, Douglas M., Yals Studies in English, XXXVI: 11ff.

doubtful "bird" the bat, some of which seem to have been omitted by Chaucer as obviously too exotic for his scene. On the other hand, Chaucer has added to Alain's muster roll the swan, the jay, the lapwing, the starling, the robin, the cuckoo, the cormorant, the thrush, and the fieldfare. Most of these certainly have legitimate places in his company. Also for the eagles and hawks Chaucer makes subdivisions into kinds. Chaucer is still more original when he comes to characterize his birds. Although, for instance, the prominent characteristics given the cock, the owl, the pye, the jackdaw, and the turtle-dove are much alike in both authors, many other birds in Chaucer are not characterized like their corresponding figures in Alanus.

Such help as Chaucer may thus have obtained from Alanus it is well to consider, but it seems folly to say that in the *Planctus* Chaucer found enough inspiration to turn human lovers into bird lovers, and that "there's an end on't." There is no love story in Alanus, no pertinent story of any sort involving the birds. We must go afield and search other likely places if we are to find anything like this.

What are we to look for? Such resemblances between the use of birds in Chaucer and in literature which Chaucer probably knew as have been from time to time pointed out will come in for later consideration in this paper. They show possibilities, and in the consideration of a poem which is as clearly a combination of different literary pieces as the Parlement, all possibilities help us to form our conclusions. But none of these has been felt to be the one definite source to which Chaucer went. They all fail in not presenting birds acting in a love drama which has any close resemblance to that in the Parlement; the birds assume only minor rôles in some story which has little to do with their own fortunes.

In a way, then, we have defined what is still to seek. In The Contending Lovers we have already found a story of lovers pleading before a judge, with both the loved one and an audience present and taking an interested part in the proceedings. The maiden, in truth, takes such an interested

²⁶ See below, p. 357 ff.

part in the progress of the case that she is finally given the privilege of choosing her lover after the dictates of her own fancy, the judge being hopelessly perplexed by the vexing equality of claims advanced by the lovers. Now if we could find a story resembling this (naturally in literature with some means direct or indirect of reaching Chaucer), which has birds for actors, we could hail it as a starting point in our investigation.

A story, which may not be able to fulfill all requirements, but which seems to be none the less highly important, is fortheoming from folk-lore, and from folk-lore of the most respectable antiquity. In the $J\bar{a}takas$ among the many tales ascribed to the Buddha is the following, a translation of which¹⁷ it will be well to quote in extenso before further discussion:

Once on a time, in the first cycle of the world's history, the quadrupeds chose the Lion as their King, the fishes the monster-fish Ananda, and the birds the Golden Mallard. Now the King Golden Mallard had a lovely young daughter, and her royal father granted her any boon she might ask. The boon she asked was to be allowed to choose a husband for herself; and the king in fulfillment of his promise mustered all the birds together in the country of the Himalayas. All manner of birds came, swans and peacocks and all other birds; and they flocked together on a great plateau of bare rock. Then the king sent for his daughter and bade her go and choose a husband after her own heart. As she reviewed the crowd of birds, her eye lighted on the peacock with his neck of jewelled sheen and tail of varied hue; and she chose him, saying, "Let this be my husband." Then the assembly of birds went up to the peacock and said, "Friend peacock, this princess, in choosing her husband from among all these birds, has fixed her choice on you."

Carried away by his extreme joy, the peacock exclaimed, "Until this day you have never seen how active I am," and in defiance of all decency he spread his wings and began to dance,—and in dancing he exposed himself.

Filled with shame, King Golden Mallard said, "This fellow has neither modesty within his heart nor decency in his outward behaviour; I certainly will not give my daughter to one so shameless." . . . Right in the face of the whole gathering King

¹⁸ From *The Jātaka*, I, tr. Chalmers, Robert C., 1895, No. 32, pp. 83-4, Nacca-Jātaka.

Royal Mallard gave his daughter to a young mallard, a nephew of his.

Thus goes the tale as it is given by the Buddhists of India. What is undoubtedly the same story appears in Tibet in the following form, 18 which may be summarized briefly:

In times long past there lived the flamingo-king Rashtrapāla. At a certain time the birds which dwell in different countries hear that the daughter of this king is going to choose herself a husband. They assemble for the choice, each hoping that he will be her spouse. The princess looks at the peacock and says, "He shall be my husband." When the birds inform the peacock of his good fortune, he begins to dance, and because of this shamelessness and impudence, the king forbids the marriage. In this version no suitor is chosen to fill the place of the rejected peacock.

The intrinsic interest and importance possessed by this tale is enhanced by its occurrence among the Jātakas, which are called by one English translator "the oldest, most complete, and most important collection of folk-lore extant." The Jātakas show many features which relate them to Buddhism, but they also contain age-old floating folk-lore ready to be fixed in any collection of tales. The ways in which they spread to folk-literature outside India are most interesting. As Mr. Cowell remarks,20 "The same stories may thus, in the course of their long wanderings, come to be recognized under widely different aspects, as when they are used by Boccaccio or Poggio merely as merry tales, or by some Welsh bard to embellish King Arthur's legendary glories, or by some Buddhist samana or mediaeval friar to add point to his discourse." Mr. Jacobs even finds most interesting examples of what he calls "the insidious spread of Buddhistic tales" in the Uncle Remus stories from the negroes of the southern United States.²¹ In Uncle Remus's story of The Tar-Baby he finds identification with the Jātaka of the Demon with the

¹⁹ Schlefner, F. Anton, *Tibetan Tales* (translated from *Kah-Gyur*), translated into English by Ralston, W. R. S., 1882, No. XLVI, p. 354. *The Peacock as Bridegroom*.

²⁰ Davids, J. W. Rhys, Buddhist Birth Stories, 1880, Introd., I, p. iv.

^{*} Cowell, E. B., The Jataka, I, Preface, p. vii.

Matted Hair, and in the story of Brer Rabbit and his Famous Foot he sees a "survival" of the worship of Buddha's foot in later Buddhism. And again, as we are reminded by Mr. Jacobs,²² the degradation in the status of women which is often blamed upon early Christianity, has no origin in truly Jewish or Christian beliefs, but in Buddhistic. We even find the Judgment of Solomon attributed to Buddha.²²

All this helps to show that a story of a princess and her bird lovers such as we find in the Jātaka just quoted, even though it occurs in a collection of stories out of the times before Christ, is yet not such a long way as one might at first imagine from the literature of the Middle Ages and from Chaucer. We know already that one such tale did reach Chaucer. The Pardoner's Tale undoubtedly contains a Jātaka.24 Moreover, that our tale of birds had some popularity and actually did travel is shown by the version from Tibet quoted above. The importance of the story would be greatly augmented if a European version could be found, but although its occurrence would not be surprising, I have so far been unsuccessful in my search for it.25 At least, however, the existence in the stream of folk-literature of a tale in which a bird princess is given the power to choose from among assembled bird lovers has been demonstrated, and the possibility of its reaching Europe in the Middle Ages is undeniable.

The possible basis for a combination of such a bird story with *The Contending Lovers* is plain enough. In order to have the matter under consideration handily before us, it will be well to give here a summary covering most versions of *The Contending Lovers*:²⁶

[&]quot; The Fables of Aesop, I: 188.

²⁸ Ibid., I: 180ff. See *The Jdtaka*, VI, tr. Cowell and Rouse, p. 163, for the tale. Here the sage has the disputing mothers engage in a tug of war, one holding the feet and the other the hands of the child. The mother desists when the child cries out in pain, and proves her right.

^{*} The Vedabbha-Jātaka, No. 48 of Fausboll's text. See Originals and Analogues (Chaucer Society) pp. 417ff; Clouston, W. A., Popular Tales and Fictions, II: 379ff.

I leave out of the question here, of course, bird parliaments called for other purposes than to decide upon a lover, which are as common in medieval Europe as elsewhere. These will be discussed later.

^{*} See Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII: 505ff., where the general tale and its various types are treated.

Three or more youths (sometimes as many as seven) fall so violently in love with the same maiden that no one will give way to another. The young men usually perform an important service for the maid, often by means of highly skilled arts or professions, to the accomplishment of which each lover makes an indispensable contribution. However, the suitors may have claims resting on nobility or on general excellence and worth. The question naturally arises, "Who has earned the maid for his wife?" There is a dispute, and very often a judge in some guise, perhaps the father of the girl, hears each lover state his case in turn. Frequently there is an audience more or less formally assembled for this hearing, and the audience takes an interest in the proceedings. Sometimes after the pleadings, the judge in his perplexity allows the maiden to choose for herself. In any case, the normal tale concludes with no lover chosen, and the problem still unsolved. The Contending Lovers is thus essentially a problem or hoax tale, and one of its rightful adjuncts is the lack of a definite decision among the lovers.

In the Jātaka of the bird king and his marriageable daughter, to be sure, there is no service performed by the lovers, as in the tale just summarized. The points of possible contact between the stories are hardly to be found here.²⁷ But in both the folk-tale of bird characters and in The Contending Lovers we find²⁸ a concourse assembled by announcement of the presiding character. This assembly in The Contending Lovers may take parts of varying importance in the business of the day, but often it says much. In the Parlement of Foules Chaucer makes the most of his possibilities by giving the birds characteristic speeches. The assembly in both folk-tales comes together under a judge to witness the choosing of a husband for a royal maiden;²⁹ and the lovers in both tales are usually of high lineage themselves, except in some more modern versions of The Contending Lovers. In the Jātaka,



It should be kept in mind, however, that in many versions of The Contending Lovers and notably in the Parlement of Foules the feature of professional or skilled service is much toned down, refined, or even eliminated.

^{*} Not always in The Contending Lovers, of course, but often.

[&]quot; In The Contending Lovers the maid is usually a princess.

as well as in many versions of *The Contending Lovers*, we find the royal father of the princess as judge. Moreover, the important feature of the granting of choice to the maiden occurs in both the *Jātaka* and in several versions of *The Contending Lovers*, so the *Parlement*, of course, included. In the bird tale from Tibet we even find that no final decision is made, although the tale has not the distinctive characteristics of the hoax story found in *The Contending Lovers*.

All of these similarities taken together make it wholly plausible that when in the course of transmission and migration from people to people our Jātaka, or some tale related to it, found itself side by side with some tale of contending lovers, a narrator may have seen the possibilities of combination. Why not have bird lovers and a bird assembly? The chance to put thereby an interesting imaginative twist upon an old tale is undeniably good. But perhaps the most distinctive likeness between the two tales, and the one which would draw them together most quickly, is that lying in the granting of the choice to the princess, be she bird or woman. For the Jātaka is undoubtedly the story of a svayamvara (literally, selfchoice), an ancient and well established Indian institution, if we are to believe what we are told of it in Indian literature: and those versions of The Contending Lovers in which the choice appears seem almost certainly to be influenced by svayamvara traditions.

The svayamvara, with its influence upon The Contending Lovers and kindred folk-tales, forms too large a subject for adequate treatment in this paper, but its character may be briefly indicated.⁵¹ In the Indian epics a king frequently decides that his daughter shall have the privilege of choosing her own husband, sometimes at the request of the daughter herself. He announces to all eligible monarchs of the land that the princess' svayamvara is to be held on a certain day. The choice may be made out of doors in an amphitheatre or in-



²⁹ For a list of these see Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII: 513, note 47.

 $^{^{21}}$ I hope to treat it at greater length in a detailed study of The Contending Lovers.

doors in a svayamvara hall, but in any case great pomp and ceremony attend the event, and the common people usually form an interested audience, making it a gala affair. The competing suitors range themselves before the princess and she chooses the one after her heart.³² Perhaps the suitors may have to do more than merely wait passively. They may have to perform feats before the choosing.³³

It may seem rather abrupt and categorical to conclude at once that evidences of the svayamvara are found in the permission given to the formel by Dame Nature to choose her mate. But in The Contending Lovers, where the father of the princess often grants the choice, the similarity to the oriental custom is plainer. In default of a more detailed connection of the folk-tale with the svayamvara, it may be suggested that in one of the earliest Indian versions of the tale³⁴ we have features of a self-choice which are pretty certainly connected with the svayamvara. Thus we have established, at least apparently, the mingling of svayamvara and folk-tale at an early stage in the development of our story.

But it is best not to go too far afield in our argument. We may conclude that the indisputable svayamvara character of the bird tale in the Jātaka and the feature of self-choice in The Contending Lovers, which is probably influenced by the svayamvara, form a good point of fusion. Whatever the origin, the similarity is beyond dispute.

A complete union of the story of bird lovers and of the story of contending lovers would produce a tale very close to that in the *Parlement*. Certain changes would be made in the version of *The Contending Lovers*. The lovers, for instance, might lose some of their skilled accomplishments and

^{**}For typical stories of the svayamvara from the epics see The Ma-hābharata in English, tr. Prātāpa Chandra Rāy, Calcutta, 1889, Adi Parva, Section CII, pp. 306ff; ibid., Vana Parva, Section CCXLII, p. 866; ibid., Adi Parva, Section CXII, p. 332; Harivamsha, tr. Manmatha Nath Dutt, Calcutta, 1897, Chap. CXVIII, p. 507.

^{**} Mahabharata, tr. Rāy, Adi Parva, Section CLXXXVII, pp. 524ff. Apparently it is not necessary that a maiden have absolutely free choice at a svayamvara. Under such conditions as these she can only take a man who can perform the feat.

^{*}See Vetalapanchavinsati 7; for a translation see Barker, Battal Pachisi, p. 162.

be given other claims to the love of their lady. These claims might be based on rank. They would then be entirely in accord with the spirit of the svayamvara, and would be something like the claims found in the Parlement. Undeniably the Parlement is not very far from being an ideal combination of a bird svayamvara and of such a svayamvara as we find incorporated in The Contending Lovers. The tercel eagles are under this interpretation something like kings from surrounding countries suing for the princess' hand. Dame Nature takes the place of royal father. But aside from the Parlement we have no story with the combination fully made and all characteristics showing. Chaucer's poem must remain the one example of the fusion carried to its logical result.

Nevertheless, we may find proof that combination of *The Contending Lovers* with animal-lore did take place elsewhere than in Chaucer. For Chaucer,—or his predecessor in combination, if he had one,—does not stand as the only teller to take characters for that tale from the animal kingdom. In a version of *The Contending Lovers* from West Africa we find the suitors to be not birds exclusively, but creatures among which a bird appears. The story bears the title *How the Spider Won and Lost Nzambi's Daughter*, and for its interest deserves careful summary:

Nzambi has a beautiful daughter. She swears that no one shall ever marry the girl unless he can obtain the heavenly fire from Nzambi Mpungu, who dwells in the regions above. The spider sets out to win the maid, calling to his aid the tortoise, the woodpecker, the rat, and the sandfly.

From the blue vault of the sky the spider succeeds in suspending s silken thread, and up this he and his troop of helpers climb. The woodpecker pecks a hole in the "roof" and all enter Heaven. Nzambi Mpungu is courteous, but is not at all anxious to give up his fire. He imposes certain tests upon the visitors. At his request the tortoise gets bamboos from earth, with which a shed is built. The rat is then placed within, and the shed is burned, but the rat escapes from the ashes unharmed. Nzambi is perplexed because his tests have not disposed of the troublesome companions, and he goes away in order to have a conference with his friends. But the sandily

^{*} Dennett, R. E., Folk-Lore of the Fjort, London, 1898, No. 16, pp. 74ff.

follows him and overhears the discussion, thus learning where the fire is kept. Consequently when Nsambi returns and says that he will give the fire if searchers can find it, there is no more trouble. The companions go to the place which the sandfly designates, procure the fire, and return to earth.

Now Nzambi gives her daughter to the spider in marriage. But dissension arises, for each helper grumbles and maintains that he has first right to the girl because of the indispensable service which he has performed. Nzambi finally says: "Nay, the spider undertook to bring me the fire; and he has brought it. The girl by rights is his; but as you others will make her life miserable if I allow her to live with the spider, and I cannot give her to you all, I will give her to none, but will give you each her market value."

It is at once noticeable, however, that this tale has nothing of the svayamvara. Perhaps strongly African features have ousted it. Quite African is the offer of the parent to give each of the contending lovers the market value of the girl; she thereby does her level best to solve the insoluble problem which is so characteristic of the hoax. It will be remembered that the performance by the lovers of feats instead of service useful to the maiden is not an uncommon later variation of our tale. In the assigning of the tasks there is an obvious attempt in the African story to make the suitors skilled representatives of different divisions of the animal kingdom, and consequently the woodpecker is the only bird among them.

But in spite of all this, the fact remains that in some tale besides Chaucer's is found the innovation of characters not human. We may be doubtful as to whether the African tale is more than a local manifestation of the African's attitude toward animals, as to whether, in other words, the story of Nzambi's daughter represents a tendency to combination that might be potent in Europe as well as in Africa. For the African has an amazing and peculiar delight in tales like this²⁷ where a beautiful human princess is wooed by animal



^{*}See Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII: 512, note 45.

³¹ In one African tale, which, however, can make no pretension to being a true version of *The Contending Lovers* (Nassau, Robert H., Where Animals Talk, Boston, 1912, No. 15, Part II, pp. 134ff., The Suitors of Njambo's Daughter) a man decides that his beautiful daughter shall

suitors. Nevertheless, African folk-lore often shows surprisingly close connection with that of the Orient and of Europe.³⁸ At any rate, a distinct fanciful conception of non-human characters in some ways very like that in the *Parlement of Foules* does appear in the tale of Nzambi's daughter.

Another African tale of animal suitors has none of the hoax characteristics of The Contending Lovers, but tells a delightfully humorous story of a contest for an animal princess. 39 The fair charmer in this case is the daughter of King Gorilla. When she reaches marriageable age her father sends to all the surrounding tribes and announces that whoever will drink a whole barrelful of a "new kind of water" shall win the princess. Suitors from various animal tribes compete. The "water", though, turns out to be nothing less than rum. After it has proved too much for the elephant, the hippopotamus, and other valiant contenders of supposedly unlimited capacity, the monkey wins the coveted prize, amid exclamations of wonder. But he wins by craft. He smuggles all the members of his tribe into the tall grass near the fateful barrel and then makes to King Gorilla the request that he be allowed to take small sips from the cask and retire to lie down in the grass for a short time between sips. This is granted, and, of course, every time a sip is taken, the drinker is a dif-



marry a beast. He announces that as a test an aspiring lover must cut down a tree which he designates, and this the tortoise does by cleverly finding a soft spot which the other suitors had not searched for. Significant as furnishing a possible echo of self-choice conventions is the fact that the tortoise first asks the girl if she loves him, and if she will marry him should he succeed. In still another African tale (Dennett, Folk-Lore of the Fjort, No. 12, pp. 60ff., The Twin Brothers), one of two brothers who set out to travel in the world woos and wins for his wife a princess for whom many animals have made offers.

^{**} Mating between humans and animals, of course, crops up in the folk-lore of almost all peoples down through the ages; in fact, the cases are so numerous that specific mention is hardly necessary. The African is merely inordinately fond of such a situation, and usually gives it a characteristic African character. In a tale from Russia (Ralston, Russian Folk-Tales, pp. 85 ff., Marya-Morevas) we find a rather interesting case of mating between maidens and birds. A brother marries his three sisters to a falcon, an eagle, and a raven. These, however, can assume human shape at will, and later prove to be "thankful animals."

^{*}Nassau, Robert H., Where Animals Talk, 1912, No. 14, Part I, pp. 65ff., The Suitors of Princess Gorilla.

ferent member of the tribe. By this division of labor, the "water" is disposed of readily.

As has been said before, we must be somewhat careful about connecting African animal tales with European tales. The African has developed the beast tale in his own way, and examples of his tales in which animals play human parts might be multiplied almost without number.⁴¹ Still, in the African tales just quoted there is much of the attitude toward animal actors which is evident in European folk-lore, and to that extent these tales are significant.

It will have been noticed that the contending lovers in the African tale of Nzambi's daughter show every evidence of having evolved from skilful companions into lovers with claims equal to those of their leader. At the outset the other creatures merely volunteer to help the spider by their skill. This suggests that in the tale of The Skilful Companions, which shows strong resemblance at some points to The Contending Lovers, but which should be carefully differentiated from it because of a total lack of the hoax element, there may be found some evidence pertinent to our discussion. For if skilful companions aiding a hero in his love adventures may become animals, the metamorphosis of skilled contending lovers into animals may be regarded as all the more possible.

At this point the well known tale of *The Thankful Animals* occurs to mind. The animals in the many and wide-spread versions of this story are of varying characteristics and of varying significance for comparison with the animal actors in tales we have just discussed. Frequently they can hardly be said to act human rôles, but again they act and talk like humans, and even possess something like the highly skilled accomplishments of the men in *The Skilful Companions*. An

^{**} As the editor points out, the appearance of rum in the tale does not necessarily ear-mark the whole plot as of recent construction. Rum may have been introduced to supplant some feature of an old tale of contest.

⁴¹ It seems hardly necessary to cite well-known tales from the American negroes such as those of *Uncle Remus*. For an interesting collection of Malay stories which are very like the American in character, see Skeat, W., Fables and Folk-Talks from an Eastern Forest. Cambridge, 1901.

⁴⁹ Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXXII: 507, note 34.

interesting story known in different versions in the Orient and in Europe may well bear examination at this point. In whatever form it appears, the tale has to do with a magic ring. A version from Kashmir⁴⁸ runs as follows:

A young man gains nothing but contempt from his father for buying a dog, a cat, and a snake, each of which is under dispute by a group of people and in danger of losing its life. The animals are grateful and are the boy's constant companions. The snake one day proposes that if his master will come to the Naga (serpent) kingdom underground, the snake rajah, his father, will reward the benefactor with several magic things, among which is a charmed ring which will produce at a wish from its owner a beautiful wife and a fine palace. The young man goes with the snake, procures the gifts, and lives in great joy with his new wife.

But one day a powerful prince covets the young woman, and an aged aunt of his, an ogress, steals the ring from the young man, thus giving her nephew possession of the wife. When the cat and the dog see their master in dejection, they volunteer to undertake the difficult task of obtaining the ring. They travel to the prince's court, and find that the ring is in the stomach of the ogress. The cat catches a very clever rat and promises to release him only on condition that he get the ring. This he does by sticking his tail in the mouth of the sleeping ogress and making her vomit the precious article. Cat and dog then set out on the return journey, the dog by his strength helping the cat, and taking his companion on his back when swimming has to be done. But the dog is clumsy, and while holding the ring, twice loses it. Each time, the clever cat makes some animal recover it. Once the cat makes a bird get it from the stomach of a fish. Finally the ring is returned to the young man, who is overjoyed at the chance to recover his wife.

In a Hungarian version,⁴⁴ the dog and cat recover the ring in almost the same way, though the opening events of the story are somewhat different.

A version from Asia Minor, 45 however, rings an interesting



^{*}Knowles, Rev. J. Hinton, Folk-Tales of Kashmir, 1893, pp. 20ff., The Charmed Ring.

[&]quot;Sklarek, Elisabet, Ungarische Volksmörchen, Leipzig, 1909 (neue Folge), No. 23, pp. 232ff. Der wundersame Ring. For yet other stories of this type see notes in this collection, pp. 297ff.

⁴⁶ Carnoy, F. H., et Nicholaides, Jean, Traditions populaires de l'Asis Mineure, 1889, No. 3, pp. 57ff., L'Anneau de Bronze.

variation on the theme, which brings the story yet closer to that of The Skilful Companions.

The queen of the mice sends three capable mice, who are sisters, after the magic ring. This is guarded by a Jew, who sleeps with it in his mouth. The first mouse is blind, the second is lame, and the third has an ear which is cut. They embark in a ship and sail to the place where the Jew lives. The first of the trio guards the ship while the other two go after the ring. These find the Jew asleep, and the precious ring in his mouth as expected. The third drags her tail across the Jew's mouth, making him sneeze and release the ring, and the second seizes it. After the mice have put to sea once more with the prize, there is a heated discussion as to which sister is the most worthy of reward, and during the controversy the ring is dropped into the sea and lost. It is, of course, later recovered.

Any discussion about the relative merit demonstrated by the principals in the story is not a usual feature of *The* Skilful Companions, and consequently this episode makes the tale of the mice doubly interesting to us because of the hoax or problem which it advances.

So far we have been examining general reasons why the combination of bird- or animal-lore with The Contending Lovers is a plausible phenomenon. But taking it for granted that the combination could be effected without at all doing violence to what we consider possible and even probable in folk-lore, we have yet to consider a different mass of lore which could have exerted an influence on the matter in the Parlement. Chaucer or a predecessor has evolved the story in the Parlement; the question now is what bird literature of Chaucer's time could add to the conception. So far we have not been sure that Chaucer was cognizant of all the material considered. The changes and combinations in the tale may have been made long before it reached him. But there is pertinent material which Chaucer, or any well-read contemporary, must have known.

To eke out the general conception of a bird parliament, not necessarily one assembled for the choice of a lover, the constructor of the *Parlement* love story, be he Chaucer or some other, might have derived suggestion and inspiration from numerous sources. Part of the heritage of the Middle Ages from the Oriental stock of apologues or animal tales was the bird parliament. It does not matter if Alanus does call his group of birds on Nature's dress an animalium concilium, an expression which Koeppel has suggested as the origin of the title of the Parlement of Foules. There are many other places where Chaucer could have obtained his title. Indeed, assemblies of birds occur in folk-literature all over the world. Often the members of such a parliament choose a king, but this is seemingly only an incident which became more popular than some others connected with such gatherings. The birds may hold an assembly to settle some other question which is troubling them.

A few examples will show the exceptional spread and the well defined character of the bird parliament in folk-lore. Readers of folk-tales are too well acquainted with this sort of parliament to require an extensive demonstration of its existence and character. The Jātakas may be again pressed into service, this time to furnish an early Oriental description of a gathering to choose a king.47 In the first cycle of the world, we are told, man and all the animals choose kings. The birds of the Himalayas assemble on a flat rock and choose the owl for their king, but the crow protests. The crow flies away, and the owl pursues, and thereupon is inaugurated eternal enmity between the two birds. Then the birds choose the Golden Goose for king. In the Panchatantra there is described a parliament held for another purpose.48 Two birds have a dispute over the ownership of a nest, and a formal court is held to settle the matter, for the two call a general assembly of all the birds and plead their cases before them as a jury.

Among the medieval writers who handle this particular form of beast tale is Marie de France. One of her fables tells of an assembly of birds which is called to choose a king

[#] Herrigs Archiv, XC (1893): 149.

⁴⁷ The Jataka, translated by Rouse, W. H. D., 1895, No. 270, II: 242ff., Uluka-Jātaka.

^{*} Selections translated by Dubois, J. A., 1826, p. 93.

to succeed one which has been lost.⁴⁹ All the birds are there except the cuckoo, who so captivates the members of the parliament by his singing at a distance that they think to elect him king. But a messenger who is sent to notify him of his election finds him of such ignoble mien that the birds reconsider their choice and elect the eagle.⁵⁰

In the Anglo-Norman tales of Nicòle Bozon is one among many apologues of very definite Eastern origin, in which the birds have already chosen the eagle king and wish their parliament to choose a consort for him. The tale is brief and worth quoting because of the way in which the assembly concerns itself with marriage:⁵¹

Les oyseaux discient a lur parliament, puis qe le egle estoit lur roy, qe voleint aver un compaigne a soñ cops. Et manderent al huwan qe venist al parliment (sic). Le huwan enquist des messagers pur quoy fust mandée. Les autres discyent: "Pur estre reīgne."
—"Et savez," dit ele, "pur qele enchesoñ fui eslue plue qe nul autre?"
—"Oïl," font les messagers, "pur vostre grosse test."—"Oïl?" fet ele; "si moy ayde Dieux! si ma test fust desplumée, ele serreit auxi grele com est la vostre." Cest ensample est assez apert.

The natural French term for a bird assembly is parliament, as in the above anecdote. Instances do not have to be multiplied to show that Chaucer could have found, and probably did find, inspiration for his title in other authors besides Alanus.

In modern times the tale of *Der Zaunkönig* in Grimm,⁵² in which the little willow-wren handily outwits the parliament of birds assembled to choose a king by feats of strength, is a well-known example of the story. Moreover, tales of bird parliaments are often found among the Africans. A Hausa story⁵³ relates that the King of Birds once came to Solomon

Fable 22, Li parlemens des oiseax por faire Roi.

¹⁰ It will be recalled that Chaucer makes the cuckoo in the *Parlement* a rough fellow with no manners. This would seem to be as much in accordance with medieval traditions as the constant reference to the eagle and the falcon as noble birds.

u Les Contes Morelisés de Nicèle Bozon, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith et Paul Meyer, 1889, No. 53, pp. 74-5.

²⁹ No. 171.

Tremearne, A. J. N., Hausa Superstitions, No. 54, p. 302.

and told him how he, the bird king, had settled certain questions in a bird parliament. And one from Cameroon⁵⁴ gives short speeches to each of the birds, most of whom advocate the election of the eagle as king.

It is safe to say that a man of Chaucer's intellectual curiosity must have known in some form this common tale of birds assembled in parliament. Yet the possibility that it could have furnished any suggestions for elements in the Parlement is touched with hesitancy, if touched at all, by scholars. A. C. Garrett has summarized in another connection an episode in Hahn 25, in which a prince, searching for his bride, arrives at the court of the eagle. There, after all the birds have been called together, a lame hawk is at last found who can conduct the prince to his loved one. Mr. Garrett wonders, "Can some such folk-tale have suggested to Chaucer the modification of Alain de l'Isle which results in the Parliament of Fowls?"55 Aside from the fact that Mr. Garrett is here proceeding on the old and erroneous premise that Alanus is the nucleus around which Chaucer gathered ideas for his poem, his hint is decidedly pertinent.

In any discussion of a medieval author's treatment of beasts or birds one is apt to give the extremely popular bestiaries more than a passing thought. One particular branch of the bestiary material, which has been noticed briefly by Professor Manly in his argument against the allegorical interpretation of the Parlement, is made up of formal poems dealing with bird parliaments. The poems are, however, quite different from the folk-tales which tell of such gatherings. They are schematic and highly sophisticated works in which metaphorical turns of speech are often used by the birds. This genre of writing has been carefully studied, and twenty-nine such poems have been listed by Seelmann. The earliest member of his group is Pavo, a Latin poem of 272



⁴ Lederbogen, W., Kameruner Mürchen, No. 21, p. 47, Das Mürchen von den Vogeln.

^{*}Studies in Chaucer's Hous of Fame, (Harvard) Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, V: 168, 1896.

[#] Stud. sur Eng. Phil., L: 285, 1918.

Jahr. des Ver. für niederd. Sprachforschung, XIV: 102ff.

verses, probably by Jordanus von Osnabrück of the thirteenth century.⁵⁸ The vogue continued with soon diminishing popularity until the sixteenth century.

In Seelmann's array of Vogelsprachen is Chaucer's Parlement, surely a doubtful member of the family. For, though the Vogelsprachen are of some use in showing that the conception of birds assembling in parliaments was exceedingly wide-spread and probably known to Chaucer, they have in their plodding schematism little in common with Chaucer's delicate and imaginative poem. Frequently they deal with a king of birds or animals surrounded by a parliament of his advisers: these in rotation edify him with wise saws and platitudes aimed to help him in the rule of his kingdom. The king among the birds is usually the eagle, and among beasts, of course, the lion. The birds' counsellors are apt to be noble birds such as the falcon, the hawk, or the peacock. The obvious aim in these poems, as with other medieval bestiaries, is to give instruction and to introduce moral maxims. Whatever the aim of the Parlement of Foules may be, it is certainly not this.

The French poem Les dictz des bestes et aussi des oyseaux, probably of the fifteenth century, is a good example of a late work of the class. Animals and then birds speak stiffly in quatrains. For example, the eagle says:

De tous oyseaulx je suis le roy; Voller je puis en si hault lieu Que le soleil de pres je voy; Benoist son ceuex qui voyent Dieu.**

That these poems have some ultimate connection with the popular tales of birds looks probable. But they are far less liable to have been of any inspiration to Chaucer than some folk-tale which he had read or heard.

[#] Ibid., p. 103.

^{**} Recueil de poésies françoises des XV° et XVI° siècles, I: 256ff., Paris, 1855.

[®] Cf. the first three lines of the quatrain with Chaucer's introduction of the eagle in the *Parlement* (11, 330-1):

That with his sharpe look perceth the sonne.

A common bit of medieval bird-lore is reflected in both passagea, as bestiaries show.

A literature of greater imaginative quality, and one which we are sure Chaucer knew and often used, is the court-of-love poetry. The influence of the love-vision upon the Parlement has been recognized. Professor Sypherd goes so far as to state sweepingly that "the conception of the goddess Nature holding a court of birds on St. Valentine's Day, and giving her awards, is due solely to the love-vision poetry." To one poem especially Professor Sypherd draws attention, Jean de Condé's La Messe des Oisiaus, in which "we have what might well have been the original of the scene in the Parliament." *** He thinks Venus sitting on a gorgeous throne and, surrounded by her birds, hearing the complaints of the Canonesses against the Grey Nuns, similar to Chaucer's figure of Dame Nature. A certain likeness undoubtedly exists, and its study is instructive, but like many other critics Professor Sypherd attempts to dispose in a manner much too hasty of a matter which researches, if they have done nothing further, have shown to be probably complicated.

Koeppel implied before Sypherd that French love poetry was being slighted in the consideration of Chaucer's sources for the poem, though he held the orthodox belief that Alanus was the mainstay of the literary structure. 68

A short excursus into French court-of-love poetry to examine the use of birds there will repay us. The following poems are of the type, and what pertinent material may be therein found is briefly summarized:

Florance et Blancheftor, or Le Jugement d'Amour. The court of the God of Love consists of birds, who discuss the familiar problem of the relative worth of clerk and knight as lovers, which is raised by two damsels. On the side of the knight are arrayed Sire Esperviers, Sire Faucons, and the Gais: on the side of the clerk Dame Kalandre, Dame Aloe, and

⁴¹ Chaucer, Hous of Fame, 1907, p. 24.

es Ibid., p. 24.

⁴ Herrigs Archiv, XC: 149ff., 1893.

⁴⁴ These are summarized in very useful fashion by Neilson, W. A.. The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love, (Harvard) Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Boston, 1899, a work which I use freely.

^{*}Barbazan et Méon, Fabliaux et Contes, IV: 354-65, 1808; Neilson, pp. 36-7.

the Rossignox. The nightingale fights the parrot to support the clerk's claim, and wins the combat.

Geste de Blancheflour et Florence. A king presides over the discussion, which is again over the merits of clerk and knight as lovers, and the birds form a court. The decision by combat is favorable to the knight.

Melior et Idoine. 67 There is no presiding god here. After the dispute by two damsels, the case is laid before the birds, and the verdict is in favor of the clerk.

Li Fablel dou Dieu d'Amours. The author has a vision on a May morning. The birds around him hold a debate, and the nightingale calls the others together to complain of the degeneration of love. Different birds have different opinions. The hawk lays blame on the villaine gent, the thrush objects to confining love to the gentry, and the jay favors democracy in love. The nightingale dismisses the assembly.

La Messe des Oisiaus et li Plais des Chanonesses et des Grises Nonains, by Jean de Condé. The author dreams one night in May that a papegai as messenger of Venus flies through the forest and bids the birds assemble in court to pay welcome to the Goddess of Love. Venus sits on a throne, and complaints are heard before her. The cuckoo is a renegade, and flies over the kneeling lovers, crying, "Tout cuku!" Everybody is angry, and the sparrow-hawk gives chase, but the cuckoo hides in a tree. A detailed account of a banquet follows.

The human parts played by the birds as deliberators in parliaments and attendants to a queen or a god are striking enough. Professor Neilson thinks that inconsistencies early crept into the poems, since Cupid was first a god and then became a king. For the birds he traces an evolution from a position merely as attendants to the God of Love to a state

Meyer, Romania, XV: 332ff; Neilson, p. 38.

er Meyer, Romania, XV: 333; Neilson, p. 38.

De Venus la Desse d'Amor, ed. Foerster; Neilson, pp. 42ff.

Scheler, Dits et Contes, III: 1ff.; Neilson, pp. 67ff.

⁷⁰ All of these works have been mentioned briefly by Professor Manly, who argues that along with the *Vogelsprachen*, they might have been of some inspiration to Chaucer. (Work cited, p. 285.) The material has been given here for the sake of completeness.

in which they are "barons" with deliberating power. Certain it is, at any rate, that here are found birds who discuss problems and express opinions made to fit individual characters much as the ideas of Chaucer's birds are made appropriate to their natures. They are even willing to fight for their opinions, and the discussion in the Parlement comes near being settled by combat. It is also certain that this love-vision poetry in which the birds are so conventionally used influenced Chaucer in works other than the Parlement. In short, we can hardly escape the fact that serious consideration is due the French court-of-love and love-vision poems as very possible sources from which Chaucer could have drawn some hints, at least, for his birds.

A brief survey has been made of different sorts of animaland bird-lore which may possibly be indicated by the bird actors in the love drama of the *Parlement*. One thing stands out with clarity. It is not easy to say how many elements went into the composition. And this is what we might have expected from our knowledge of the ways in which Chaucer the literary artist uses everything at hand which is available for his purpose.

To summarize: The Contending Lovers becomes a beast-tale, and more than that, a bird-tale. It seems pretty certain after an examination of the Jātaka telling of a bird svayamvara that such a tale as this helps to furnish a plausible explanation for a composite tale like the Parlement. We have hints in other tales showing how lovers or skilful companions may take on other than human shapes. Furthermore, we know that beast-tales of Oriental origin were enormously popular in medieval Europe and especially in England. We might then expect a tendency toward an elaborate and sophisticated use of animal actors in the literature of Chaucer's time. We find it in other poems than Chaucer's, in such works as The Owl and the Nightingale, for instance.



[&]quot; Work cited, p. 38.

[&]quot;The Owl and the Nightingale, ed. Wells, John E., 1907, Int., p. lxiv: "It is probably to these popular sources, the Fable, the Bestiary or Physiologus, and works such as Neckham's De Naturis Rerum, that is to be traced the influence that ultimately led to the use of animals as actors

But we come back to an interesting problem. How much has Chaucer reworked the story? How much is the combination due to him?

The first possibility would seem to imply the following: Chaucer may have encountered already made a combination of the bird material with *The Contending Lovers*. Both this tale and *The Skilful Companions*, for which it possesses an affinity, actually do occur with bird or beast characters. The story of the *Parlement* may be much older than Chaucer, and may have been in Chaucer's original of exactly the same broad outlines as his own story.

The second possibility is that Chaucer himself may have received the happy inspiration to make disputing suitors birds. Normally there is a parliamentary discussion in The Contending Lovers, and a bird parliament would fit into the story admirably. For this conclave of fowls Chaucer could have drawn hints from several very likely sources. The bird svayamvara, like other Jātakas, may have been in the medieval folk-literature which Chaucer would have known, and may have been used. Also, many tales of bird parliaments in which problems other than those aroused by the claims of the rival lovers are discussed certainly existed in Chaucer's time. The formal Vogelsprachen helped to disseminate the conception of birds assembling in parliaments. Finally French court-of-love poems and other sophisticated medieval poems afford very suggestive birds who play prominent parts as disputants, spectators, or servants to the deity of love.

The merits of the possibilities are rather hard to decide. But emphasis deserves to be laid upon the fact that the method of composition indicated by the second possibility is in no way inconsistent with Chaucer's character. Chaucer was wholly capable of making the combination himself; we can imagine just how he could have mixed together the tale of bird lovers and the tale of contending suitors, adding handy



in The Owl and in such later animal poems (e. g. The Thrush and the Nightingale and The Fow and the Wolf, Clanvowe's Cuckow and Nightingale, Dunbar's The Merle and the Nightingale, Henryson's The Lion and the Mouse, etc.) as were produced in England in the thirteenth and the following centuries."

and pertinent bits of lore, and then have infused the whole with the results of his own wisdom and observation. It must be remembered that even a composite tale of contending bird lovers may have come to Chaucer with but the barest outlines of a story, and that in that case all the sources of bird-lore which have been discussed would have been possible aids to elaboration.

Chaucer's Parlement furnishes the same object lesson that has been afforded by others of his works when they have been analyzed for "elements". The peculiar genius and originality of his craftsmanship become clearer the more his sources are identified. Even if he received the plot and characters of the Parlement love story in their present outlines, it is certain that their clever handling is as much his own as anything could be. The skilful characterization bestowed upon the birds and the inimitable speeches of the birds argue pretty convincingly for themselves as contributions from Chaucer. Sophisticated literature and folk-literature have contributed many bits to the Parlement, but Chaucer himself, "glening here and there", is to be thanked for a delightful poem.

ASPECTS OF THE STORY OF TROILUS AND CRISEYDE

KARL YOUNG

Although the majority of Chaucerian scholars may now agree in interpreting *Troilus and Criseyde* as a manifestation of mediaeval courtly love, probably no one would contend that this particular subject of investigation has been exhausted.¹ The element of courtly love in Chaucer's poem

"This theory is that of most of the romances of chivalry It is small wonder that Love also was erected into a religion with its own code of morality. We shall be mistaken, indeed, if we think that this code was either an easy or a base one. To be a good lover a knight had to be brave unto death, courteous to all men, humble to his lady, pure of thought, modest of speech, ready to sacrifice all, even his love itself, for his lady's honour. Whom he loved was reckoned a matter of destiny, and this was held to excuse all."

W. J. Courthope (A History of English Poetry, Vol. I, New York. 1895, p. 263) speaks still more specifically in regard to the element of courtly love in Trollus:

"In the first three books Cressida's conduct is regulated in strict conformity with the standing rules of chivalrous society. She resists her own inclinations, and withstands the solicitations of Fandarus on behalf of Trolius, with all the oppositions of argument required by the science of the troubadours and the regulations of the Courts of Love. André le Chapelain himself could have found no fault with her behaviour. When she finally surrenders to Trolius, she has as yet been guilty of no offence according to the moral code of the time, which merely required her to be true and steadfast in her attachment to one preferred lover."

Carlo Segrè (Fanfulla della Domenica, Rome, Nov. 25, 1900, p. 2, col.

¹That Chaucer's Troilus is in some way related to the doctrine of courtly love was observed at least as early as 1862, in which year Adolf Ebert published (Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, IV: 85-106) his review of E. G. Sandras' Etude sur G. Chaucer (Paris, 1859). This relation Ebert conceives (pp. 92-93) through the character of Pandarus, whom he interprets as representing Chaucer's irony toward "fantastical chivalric love". Alfons Kissner (Chaucer in seinen Besiehungen sur italienischen Literatur, Marburg, 1867, pp. 53-54) combats Ebert's view of Pandarus, and ten Brink (Chaucer: Studien, Münster, 1870, pp. 72-73) reaffirms it. A. W. Pollard (Chaucer, London, 1893, p. 85) views the matter somewhat more comprehensively, and in regard to "the theory of life and love that underlies" Troilus writes as follows:

has indeed been so generously and effectually expounded that a mere extension of illustrations is scarcely needed for the stability of the demonstration; but the bearing of the principles of *l'amour courtois* upon certain elements in the story is still left in doubt, and further inquiry in regard to these relations may not be considered inappropriate.

In the succeeding pages, then, I undertake to treat two considerations in regard to which recent investigators have been either contradictory in their findings or relatively silent: (1) the rôle, or status, of Pandarus, and (2) the heroine's relation to, or attitude toward, marriage.² I hasten to declare that I am in no sense combatting the general interpretation of *Troilus and Criseyde* as a phenomenon of courtly love. The evidence in support of that interpretation appears to me to be even more ample and comprehensive than has yet been urged. In the present paper I am concerned merely with two fundamental elements of the poem the relation of which to the courtly code seems still to be open to discussion.²



³⁾ refers, in a general way, to the "influenza del Roman de la Rose, delle Corti d'Amore e dell'arte trovadorica" in Troilus. Although it appears, then, that the element of courtly love in Troilus had been variously recognized by several predecessors, a thorough-going study of the matter was first made by W. G. Dodd (Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, Boston, 1913, pp. 129-208), under the leadership of Professor Kittredge. Professor Kittredge's own statement of the case is found in his Chaucer and His Poetry (Cambridge, 1915, Chapter IV),-a statement that he had been communicating for half a generation to the fortunate members of his Chaucer seminary. The relation of Troilus to courtly love has recently been considered by W. W. Lawrence (Shaksperian Studies by Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University, New York, 1916, pp. 194-203), and occasional references to this matter are found in the valuable monograph of H. M. Cummings, The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boocacolo (University of Cincinnati Studies, X, Part 2, 1916. See especially pp. 53, 70, 105, 106, 121, 122). To the last four writers I shall express my obligation in the following pages. To Professor Kittredge and Doctor Dodd I have already expressed my appreciation in a review of Doctor Dodd's important book, in The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XV, No. 1 (1916), pp. 154-161.

²I ventured to propose these considerations, without treating them, in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XV:155. Cf. pp. 156, 157.

²It is fortunate that in formulating the principles of courtly love one is not at the mercy of the contradictory testimony of Provençal lyric and French romance. For the sake of definiteness I draw my evidences directly from the ample treatise of Andreas Capellanus, De Amore, (edited by E. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892). For digests of Andreas

In considering the rôle of Pandarus one confronts primarily the question of the appropriateness of such a figure in a poem conforming to the spirit and precepts of courtly love. In spite of the fact that these precepts impose upon the lovers a strenuous secrecy, may they nevertheless disclose their amour to an intermediary, and profit by his counsel or active assistance? Since both affirmative and negative replies have recently been made to this question, we shall do well in ap-

treatise, and for discussions of its place among the medisval theories of love, one may consult, in addition to the works cited by Dodd (Chapter I), E. Gorra, La Teorica dell' Amore e Un Antico Poema Francese Inedito (in his Fra Drammi e Poemi, Milan, 1900, pp. 201-302); E. Wechseler, Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs, Vol. I, Halle, 1909; K. Heyl, Die Theorie der Minne in den ditesten Minneromanen Frankreichs, Marburg, 1911 (Bibliography, pp. ix-xii).

⁴Finitur quoque amor, postquam evidenter fuerit propalatus atque inter homines divulgatus (Andreas, p 248). See also Andreas, pp. 106 (Rule X), 310 (Rule XIII), 175, 238, 290-291.

Dodd (p. 147) observes that "the intermediary between the lover and his lady was a recognized figure in mediæval love affairs", and (p. 30) that the possession of a confidant is implied in Andreas' rule, Amoris twi secretarios noli plures habere. See also Dodd, pp. 29, 181. In referring to Pandaro as "a stock figure", Cummings (p. 110) may, or may not, support the general position of Dodd. In any case, if my understanding is correct, Dodd's view of the matter is challenged by Professor Kittredge (The Poetry of Chaucer, 140) in the following passage: "The system of courtly love had neither comfort nor excuse for Pandarus. Though Cressida's love for Troilus was blameless, or even meritorious, under the code, yet that same code, in its inconsistency, held no justification for the go-between". This is the view expressed also by Lawrence in such passages as the following (op. cit., pp. 199, 201): "The fault of Pandarus, however, according to the conventions of courtly love, is one not of morals but of manners. If we judge the episode in which he figures from this point of view, and agree that Criseyde acted properly in yielding to Troilus, we ought, apparently, not to condemn her uncle for his furtherance of the intrigue. But in theory the love-affair admitted of the intervention of no third person; it had to be perfectly secret, the affair of the lover and the lady alone . . . In theory, the mere fact that Pandarus knew of the affair at all was to be regretted." Meray, after an extended review of the code of Andreas Capellanus (A. Meray, La Vie au Temps des Cours d'Amour, Paris, 1876, pp. 125-180), speaks (p. 197) of "la loi d'amour: 'se défier des confidents'." Whence Meray derives this "loi" I do not know,-certainly not from Andreas. Possibly he misinterprets Andreas' rule, quoted above: Amoris tui secretarios noli plures habere. The interpretation of this rule is considered below, p. 371. Dodd's view seems to find support in Savi-Lopes (Romanic, XXVII:467). See also H. Hauvette, Boccace, Paris, 1914, p. 82; E. Gorra, Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana, Turin, 1887, 853.

pealing directly to the code of courtly love itself, conveniently formulated and generously illustrated in the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus.

In the first chapter of his treatise, entitled Quid sit amor, after describing the growth of the suitor's desire to the point of ardent passion, Andreas proceeds thus:

Postquam vero ad hanc cogitationem plenariam devenerit, sua frena nescit continere amor, sed statim procedit ad actum; statim enim adiutorium habere laborat et internuntium invenire. Incipit enim cogitare, qualiter eius gratiam valeat invenire, incipit etiam quaerere locum et tempus cum opportunitate loquendi.

In this passage Andreas clearly expresses the suitor's need of an active intermediary; and the context contains no hint of disapproval of such an agent. At the very outset, then, the code of courtly love assumes the employment of some sort of go-between. In the following well-considered passage, moreover, Andreas explains with precision that the employment of an agent of this sort is not to be considered a violation of the principle of secrecy:

Sed dices forsan: Ergo illi amoris obviabitur regulae, quae dicit, amorem non esse propalandum. Cui taliter respondemus obiecto: Dicimus enim, quod coamantium personis exceptis tribus aliis potest amor licite propalari personis. Nam permittitur amatori sui amoris secretarium invenire idoneum, cum quo secrete valeat de suo solatiari amore, et qui ei, si contigerit, in amoris compatiatur adversis. Sed et amatrici similem conceditur secretariam postulare. Praeter istos internuntium fidelem de communi possunt habere consensu, per quem amor occulte et recte semper valeat gubernari.

This passage clearly prescribes that three outside persons may have knowledge of an amour: a confidant (secretarius) for the suitor, a confidante (secretaria) for the lady, and an

^{*}Less authoritative information may be found in medisaval narratives of love (see K. Young, The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Oriseyde, Chaucer Society, London, 1908, pp. 45-53).

⁷ Andreas, pp. 5-6. The italics here, and in subsequent quotations, are mine.

Andreas, p. 267. This passage is found in the chapter entitled Si unus amantium alteri Adem frangat amanti, pp. 254 ff.

intermediary (internuntius fidelis) through whom the amour may be conducted in secrecy and good form. This explanation seems amply to elucidate the rule, "Amoris tui secretarios noli plures habere". The lovers are allowed to confide, not in numerous persons, but only in the prescribed three. 10

In further elucidation of the rôle of the intermediary in the affairs of courtly love one may cite from Andreas' treatise the following account of a case brought before a tribunal under the presidency of the Countess of Champagne:

Miles quidam, dum pro cuiusdam dominae laboraret amore, et ei non esset penitus opportunitas copiosa loquendi, secretarium in hoc sibi quendam facto de mulieris assensu adhibuit, quo mediante uterque alterius vicissim facilius valeat agnoscere voluntatem et suam ei secretius indicare, et per quem etiam occultius amor inter eos possit perpetuo gubernari. Qui secretarius, officio legationis assumpto, sociali fide confracta, amantis sibi nomen assumpsit ac pro se ipso coepit sollicitus esse. Cuius praefata domina inurbane coepit fraudibus assentire. Sic tandem cum ipso complevit amorem et eius universa vota peregit. Miles autem pro fraude sibi facta commotus Campaniae comitissae totam negotii seriem indicavit et de ipsius et aliarum dominarum iudicio nefas praedictum postulat iudicari, et eiusdem comitissae ipse fraudulentus collaudavit arbitrium. Comitissa vero, sexagenario accersito sibi numero dominarum, rem tali iudicio definivit: Amator iste dolosus, qui suis meritis dignam reperit mulierem, quae tanto facinori non erubuit assentire, male acquisito fruatur amore, si placet, et ipsa tali digna fruatur amico. Uterque tamen in perpetuum a cuiuslibet alterius

^{*}Andreas, p. 106 (Rule VI). Cf. the following passage in the conversation Loquitur nobilior plebeiae: "Homo ait: . . . Nonne amoris praecepto testante in amore non licet secretarios plures habere?" (Andreas, p. 114). In the following passage the phrase extra suos terminos may refer to the three outside persons mentioned above: "Qui suum igitur cupit amorem diu retinere illaesum, eum sibi maxime praecavere oportet, ut amor extra suos terminos nemini propaletur, sed omnibus reservetur occultus" (Andreas, p. 238).

¹⁰ One of the appropriate duties of a secretarius,—a duty that does not directly concern our present study,—was the presenting before a court of love of the case of the litigant whom he served. See Andreas, pp. 267. 285-287. The question of the existence of the court of love as an established tribunal in actual life has long been debated. For an important review of the controversy see V. Crescini, Nuove Postille al Trattato Amoroso d'Andrea Capellano, in Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Sojenze, Lettere ed Arti, Vol. 69, Part 2 (1909-10), pp. 1-99, 473-504. For earlier discussions see Dodd, p. 4.

personae maneat segregatus amore, et neuter ad dominarum coetus vel militum curias ulterius devocetur, quia ipse contra militaris ordinis fidem commisit, et illa contra dominarum pudorem turpiter secretarii consensit amori."

Here we have an account of an amour conducted through the mediation of a secretarius. The fact that the intermediary proves false and wooes the lady upon his own behalf is regarded as a blot, not upon his rôle, but upon his character. What the tribunal denounces is not the office of secretarius, but the treachery of the individual.¹²

It is clear, then, that whatever attitude this or that mediæval author may assume toward the friendly intermediary of literary amours, this personage is a legalized agent in the system of courtly love, requiring, at least from Andreas, no apology.¹⁸

We may now inquire whether or not Boccaccio and Chaucer present the rôle of the intermediary in the favorable light seen in the *De Amore* of Andreas. Let it be understood that we are not, for the present, considering the *character* of the personage, but merely his *rôle*. The question to be answered is merely this: Are the activities of Pandaro and Pandarus presented as being normal and praiseworthy, or are they a subject for disparagement and apology? The basis for our answer must be, naturally, the observations upon the rôle offered either by the several characters in the poems or by the authors themselves.

In his enthusiasm over the amour in its incipiency Pandaro implies complete approval of his own rôle in the following words to Troilo:

Se quella ch' ami fosse mia sorella, A mio potere avrai tuo piacer d' ella.¹⁴

¹¹ Andreas, 288-289.

¹³ One recalls Pandarus' declaration against this sort of "supplanting" (T. and C., I:715-718):

If god wole thou art not agast of me,

Lest I wolde of thy lady thee bigyle,

Thow wost thy-self whom that I love, pardee,

As I best can, gon sithen longe whyle.

In addition to the references given above in regard to the intermediary, see also Andreas, pp. 205, 238, 294.

¹⁶ Filostrato, II:16, 7-8. I use Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio, XIII, Firenze, Moutier, 1831.

Pandarus expresses the same confidence as follows:

Were it for my suster, al thy sorwe, By my wil, she sholde al be thyn to-morwe."

Pandaro's conscience seems to be clear also when he speaks the following:

Non creder, Troilo, ch' io non vegga bene Non convenirsi a donna valorosa Si fatti amori, e quel ch' a me ne viene, Ed a lei ed a' suoi, se cotal cosa Alla bocca del volgo mai perviene, Che, per follia di noi, vituperosa È divenuta, dove esser solea Onor, dappoi per amor si facea.

Ma perciocchè 'l disio s' è impedito All' operare, e tutto simigliante Non conosciuto, parmi per partito Poter pigliar, che ciascheduno amante Possa seguire il suo alto appetito, Sol che sia savio in fatto ed in sembiante, Senza vergogna alcuna di coloro A cui tien la vergogna e l' onor loro.20

In the first of these stanzas Pandaro shows himself to be aware of the damage to his own reputation, as well as to Criseida's,¹⁷ in case the *amour* should ever be disclosed to the unsparing public; but in the second stanza he confidently urges that the amorous enterprise proceed.¹⁸

¹⁵ T. and C., I: 860-861.

[₩] FQ., II: 25-26.

The spelling *Criscida* for the name of Boccaccio's heroine is attested by the investigations of Professor E. H. Wilkins (*Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 65-67), and is accepted by Hauvette (*Boccace*, p. 79).

³⁶ That Chaucer omits these stanzas seems to me clear, as it does to Rossetti (Comparison, pp. 36-37). Cummings (p. 53) seems to hold the contrary opinion, though he does not specify the precise English lines that he takes to represent these two Italian stanzas. Chaucer's reason for the omission is not obvious; nor am I sure of the bearing of the first of the Italian stanzas in itself. Rossetti (p. 36) translates it adequately as follows:

[&]quot;Suppose not, Troilus, that I do not clearly see that such amours are unbefitting to a lady of character; or that I am blind to what will be the result to myself, and to her and hers, if such a thing ever reaches the mouth of the vulgar; a thing which, through our

Pandaro's satisfaction in his own undertaking appears unequivocally in his assurance to Troilo,

farei torto.

Se in ciò non ne facessi il mio potere In tuo servigio."

And Pandarus is only slightly less explicit in his declaration,

Wherefore I am, and wol be, ay redy
To peyne me to do yow this servyse;
For bothe yow to plese thus hope I
Her-afterward; for ye beth bothe wyse,
And conne it counseyl kepe in swich a wyse,
That no man shal the wyser of it be;
And so we may be gladed alle three.

As he proceeded with the story Chaucer, on his part, evidently felt some qualms as to the impression that the conduct of the amour might make upon the readers,—or hearers,²¹—of the poem. At the point at which Pandarus is about to make his first appeal to Criseyde, Chaucer introduces the following apology:²²

Eek for to winne love in sondry ages, In sondry londes, sondry been usages.

folly, has become opprobrious, whereas it used to be true honour, being done for love."

At first sight the passage seems to mean that such an amour as the present one is in itself unbefitting to such a lady as Criseida; but the stansa is probably to be taken as a whole in the meaning that such amours are, in Pandaro's day socially disgraceful if they are made public. There is no indication that Pandaro feels guilty over his own rôle. In connection with this stansa Cummings observes (p. 110), "Pandaro enters with a clear conscience into the intrigue".

¹⁰ FGL, II: 28, 5-7.

[»] T. and C., I: 988-994.

[&]quot;Several passages in the English poem suggest its having been read aloud. See, for example, T. and C. I: 5, 450; II: 30, 43, 1751; III: 499; V: 1797. See also L. F. Mott, The System of Courtly Love, Boston, 1896, p. 23; G. L. Kittredge, The Date of Chaucer's Trollus, London, Chaucer Society 1909, p. 52; J. S. P. Tatlock, The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works, London, Chaucer Society, 1907, p. 170; R. K. Root, in Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXVIII (1913): 429.

**Filostrate contains nothing similar.

And for-thy if it happe in any wyse,
That here be any lovere in this place
That herkeneth, as the story wol devyse,
How Troflus com to his lady grace,
And thenketh, so noide I nat love purchace,
Or wondreth on his speche and his doinge,
I noot; but ft is me no wonderinge;

For every wight which that to Rome went, Halt nat o path, or alwey o manere; Eek in som lond were al the gamen shent, If that they ferde in love as men don here, And thus, in open doing or in chere, In visitinge, in forme, or seyde hir sawes; Forthy men seyn, ech contree hath his lawes.

Whether or not these lines refer primarily to Pandarus, his activities are inevitably included in the apology.

But as the narrative proceeds, condoning ceases. Condemnation is heard first from the lips of Criseyde, when Pandarus has disclosed, at least in a preliminary way, the nature of the amorous enterprise that he is advancing:

And she bigan to breste a-wepe anoon.

And seyde, 'allas, for wo! why nere I deed?

For of this world the feith is al agoon!

Allas! what sholden straunge to me doon,

When he, that for my beste freend I wende,

Ret me to love, and sholde it me defende?

Allas! I wolde han trusted, doutelees, That if that I thurgh my disaventure, Had loved other him or Achilles, Ector, or any mannes creature, Ye nolde han had no mercy ne mesure On me, but alwey had me in repreve; This false world, allas! who may it leve?

This utterance has a firm basis in the following words of Criseida:

Io mi credea, Pandaro, se io In tal follía giammai fossi caduta, Che se Troilo venuto nel disio

⁼ T. and C., II: 27-42.

[≈] T. and C., II: 408-420.

Mi fosse mai, tu m'avessi battuta Non che ripresa, sì com' uom ch 'l mio Onor cercar dovresti: oh Dio m'aiuta! Che faran gli altri, poi che tu t'ingegni Di seguir farmi gli amorosi regni?

The heroine's denunciation of her kinsman ought not, of course, to be taken too seriously, especially in view of the prompt awakening of her interest in the project broached.²⁶

But however sceptical one may be as to the sincerity of the heroine's first repulses, there is no escaping the seriousness of the go-between in his condemnation of his own function. When the consummation of the amour becomes imminent, 27 Pandaro's remorse breaks forth as follows:

Io son per te divenuto messano, Per te gittato ho in terra il mio onore, Per te ho io corrotto il petto sano Di mia sorella, e posto l' ho nel core Il tuo amor;

Ma come Iddio che tutto quanto vede, E tu che 'l sai, a ciò non m' ha indotto Di premio speranza, ma sol fede, Che come amico ti porto, e condotto M' ha ad oprar che tu trovi mercede:

Or venuto è che tu nelle man l'hai, E puogliel tor se fai quel che non dei, Benchè addivenir ciò non può mai Senza mia gran vergogna, che parente Le sono, e trattator similemente.

The penitence of Pandarus is expressed in a closely similar form:

For thee am I bicomen,
Bitwixen game and ernest, swich a mene
As maken wommen un-to men to comen;
Al sey I nought, thou wost wel what I mene.
For thee have I my nece, of vyces clene,

^{*} Fil., II: 48.

[™] See Fa., II: 55, 65-66; T. and C., II: 499-504.

²⁷ See Fil., II: 189-148; T. and C., III: 188-200.

[&]quot; Fil., III: 6, 1-5; 7, 1-5; 8, 4-8.

So fully mand thy gentilesse triste, That al shal been right as thy-selve liste.

But god, that al wot, take I to witnesse, That never I this for coveriyse wroughte, But only for to abregge that distresse, For which wel nygh thou devdest, as me thoughte.

But wo is me, that I, that cause al this, May thenken that she is my nece dere, And I hir eem, and traytor eek y-fere!.

And were it wist that I, through myn engyn, Hadde in my nece y-put this fantasye, To do thy lust, and hoolly to be thyn, Why, al the world up-on it wolde crye, And seye, that I the worste trecherye Dide in this cas, that ever was bigonne.**

For this self-condemnation each poem provides, to be sure, a certain mitigation in the effort of the hero to clear the good name of his friend. Troilus, for example, 30 speaks as follows:

But here, with al myn herte, I thee biseche,
That never in me thou deme swich folye
As I shal seyn; me thoughte, by thy speche,
That this, which thou me dost for companye,
I sholde wene it were a bauderye;
I am nought wood, al-if I lewed be;
It is not so, that woot I wel, pardee.

But he that goth, for gold or for richesse, On swich message, calle him what thee list; And this that thou dost, calle it gentilesse, Compassioun, and felawship, and trist; Departe it so, for wyde-where is wist How that there is dyversitee requered Bitwixen thinges lyke, as I have lered.

And, that thou knowe I thenke nought ne wene That this servyse a shame be or jape, I have my faire suster Polixene, Cassandre, Eleyne, or any of the frape; Be she never so faire or wel y-shape, Tel me, which thou wilt of everichone, To han for thyn, and lat me thanne allone.

M T. and C., III: 393-418.

T. and C., III: 253-263, 271-279.

^{**}Troilo's parallel utterance (Fil, III: 16, 6-18, 8) differs in no substantial respect. See Savj-Lopez, in Romania, XXVII: 466.

In this utterance Troilus not only asserts the distinction between the intermediary who works for hire and the one who serves through friendship; he also tries to dispel the opprobrium conceived by Pandarus as arising from his kinship with Criseyde.²² One's first impression is, indeed, that the qualms of the intermediary have been effectually allayed. Such an impression arises naturally from such a passage as the following in *Troilus*:

Thus held him ech with other wel apayed,
That al the world ne mighte it bet amende:

or from the following in Filostrato:

Rimase Pandar di Troilo contento, E ciascheduno a sue bisogna attese.**

It happens, however, that in neither poem is this the end of the matter. In the course of his last words to Troilo, toward the very end of the narrative, Pandaro discloses his remorse again in the lines,

> Ciò ch' io fe' già il feci per tuo amore, Lascàmdo addietro ciascuno mio onore.

And Pandarus makes the same disclosure:

And that thou me bisoughtest doon of yore, Havinge un-to myn honour ne my reste Right no reward, I dide al that thee leste.**

The utterances of the go-between that we have been reviewing clearly reveal a conflict in his mind between the dictates of friendship and those of honor. For Pandarus,—and

es Troilus' offer of his services in winning one of his sisters for Pandarus (T. and C., III: 407-413) is based upon the similar offer of Trollo to Pandaro (Fil., III: 18, 1-8). Troilus might have reminded Pandarus of the latter's own previous renunciation of any restraint assumed to arise from the circumstance of kinship (see T. and C., I: 860-861 and Fil., II: 16, 7-8, quoted above, p. 372).

[≈] T. and C., III: 421-422.

^{**} FU., III: 20, 1-2.

[≠] F4L, VIII: 23, 7-8.

^{*} T. and C., V: 1784-1786.

equally well for Pandaro,—this conflict is finely delineated in the words of Professor Kittredge:

Pandarus is Troilus' friend and Cressida's uncle. This double relation is the sum and substance of his tragedy, for it involves him in an action that sullies his honor to no purpose. Since Cressida is faithless, he not only labors in vain, but ruins his friend by the very success that his plans achieve. This humorous worldly enthusiast has two ideals, friendship and faith in love. To friendship he sacrifices his honor, only, it seems, to make possible the tragic infidelity of Cressida, which destroys his friend."

What I wish especially to insist upon, however, is that this clash of ideals in the mind of Pandarus is not to be charged to the exigencies of courtly love. In the courtly harmony prevailing in the poem the qualms of Pandarus sound a dissonance. However human and commendable his remorse may seem to us, it violates the explicit tradition of the courtly system. As we have learned from the treatise of Andreas himself, the courtly code assigned to the intermediary an essential and well-accredited rôle. The revulsion of feeling in the mind of Pandarus (and of Pandaro) arises, not from anything in the rôle itself that is alien to courtly love, so but from the characterization and human relationship through which the rôle is modified and enriched in the hands of Boccaccio and Chaucer.

II

Reflection upon matrimonial considerations in *Troilus* and *Filostrato* begins naturally with the fact of the heroine's widowhood. At the outset one inevitably inquires as to the reason why Boccaccio should have chosen deliberately to transform the *pucele* of Benoit de Sainte-Maure into the *vedova* of

[#] Kittredge, Chaucer and His Poetry, pp. 139-140.

mone recalls from the romance of Claris and Laris the aid that Laris offers his friend, Claris, who is adulterously in love with Laris's sister Lydaine, wife of King Ladont (see Savj-Lopes, in Romania, XXVII: 469; Young, Origin and Development, p. 46).

Filostrato. ** For so palpable a change he must have had a definite reason.

The explanation usually given by Chaucerian critics is that Criseida's widowhood represents Boccaccio's attempt to make the literary figure conform more exactly to the circumstances of an actual love affair of his own. Since Boccaccio himself declares that Criseida,—at least in her more favorable aspects,—represents Maria d'Aquino, the object of his own wooing, and since at the time of this declaration Maria was a married woman, it is asserted that Criseida was changed from the estate of puccle to that of vedova in order more effectually to allegorize the actual object of Boccaccio's devotion. The insufficiency of this explanation, however, is obvious. Although there are certain respects in which the vedova more accurately resembles the actual Maria d'Aquino than does the puccle, one must still wonder why Boccaccio did

^{**}On the relation of Filostrato to the Roman de Trois of Benoit de Sainte-Maure and to the Historia Troiana of Guido delle Colonne see Young, Origin and Development, pp. 5-26. Benoit refers to Briseida as pucele (ll. 13111, 13828, 13421, 13669, etc.; I use the edition of Constans), meschine (ll. 13414, 13779, etc.), and dansele (ll. 13429, 13815, etc.). Guido speaks of her as filia (Historia Troiana, Strassburg, 1489, sig. e 2 recto, col. 2; sig. i 1 recto, col. 2).

^{*}See the prose Proemio of Filostrato. On the relation of Filostrato to the love affair of Boccaccio and Maria d'Aquino see V. Crescini, Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio, Turin, 1887, pp. 186-208; A. della Torre, La Giovinezza di G. Boccaccio, Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 245-257.

⁴¹ See della Torre, pp. 188, 270; Hauvette, pp. 44-48, 53-55, 78.

⁴⁵ Kissner (op. cit., p. 45) states this view as follows:

[&]quot;Der Anlass zu dieser Umgestaltung mag einerseits in Boccaccios Streben zu suchen sein, die Besiehungen der Liebenden seinem Verhältniss zur Fiametta möglichst analog zu machen, die, wenn auch nicht Wittwe, doch bekanntlich eine verheirathete Frau war."

This general view is expressed by B. ten Brink (History of English Literature, Vol. II, Part I, trans. Robinson, New York, 1893, p. 90), W. Hertsberg (Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, VI: 199), and Dodd (op. cit., p. 160). But Kissner (p. 45) finds another reason for Boccaccio's alteration, arising from the exigencies of the story itself:

[&]quot;Allein auch abgesehen davon musste Boccaccio eine solche Veränderung vornehmen, um die Gestaltung and Durchführung der Fabel in dem Sinne wie sie ihm vorschwebte zu bewerkstelligen. Hätte er Chryseis als junges Mädchen dargestellt, so wäre die ganze Verwickelung der Knotenschürzung weggefallen: Troilus hätte nicht nöthig gehabt, auf Umwegen und verstohlener Weise sich der Geliebten zu nähern, sondern die einfache Frage wäre dann gewesen: Warum wirbt er nicht um sie und erringt sie sich als Gattin?"

Dodd correctly notes (p. 150) Kissner's error in implying that marriage was less likely for Criseida as a widow than for Criseida as a maid.

not construct a really adequate allegory by presenting Criseida in the state of marriage.⁴²

A cogent answer to such a query, and an acceptable explanation of Boccaccio's preference for widowhood, is found in the following words of Professor Wilkins: "Boccaccio made Criseida a widow, I am convinced, because he at that time (the Corbaccio was far in the future) regarded the widow as the ideal mistress'. According to this view Boccaccio's primary interest was not the allegorizing of an external circumstance of his own progressing amour, but rather the presenting of an ideal. Substantial support for this position appears in a passage in the well-known episode of the Court of Love in Boccaccio's own Filocolo. In Questione IX the Queen discourses at length concerning the respective advantages, in an amour, of the maid, the married woman, and the widow. In the course of her "judgment" she speaks as follows:

⁴² A husband in the background would not, presumably, have entailed insuperable narrative difficulties. But one hesitates to arouse conjecture, especially when, as we shall see, conjecture is unnecessary.

^ME. H. Wilkins, in *Modern Philology*, XI: 48, note 1. In support of his opinion Wilkins refers to Questione IX in *Filocolo* and to *Rime*, No. CI, from both of which I quote below. Similar references, without precise application to the heroine of *Filostrato*, are given by Crescini (*Contributo*, p. 166) and P. Rajna (*Romania*, XXXI: 52-54). The view of Wilkins seems to be shared by H. Hauvette (*Boccaoe*, p. 83). I seize this opportunity for expressing, very inadequately, my gratitude to Professor Wilkins for his unlimited generosity to me in connection with my studies in the relations of Boccaccio and Chaucer.

^{*} Opere Volgari, VIII: 31-120. In regard to the close chronological relations of Filocolo and Filostrato see Crescini, Contributo, p. 208; Young, Origin and Development, pp. 30-32.

molto affanno si recano abili a' desiderii dell' uomo, quello che nelle vedove non bisogna. Appresso se le pulcelle amano, esse non sanno che si desiderare, e però con intero animo non seguono i vestigi dell' amante come le vedove, in cui già l' antico fuoco riprende forza, e falle desiderar quello che per lungo abuso avevano obliato, ed è loro tardi di venire a tale effetto, piangendo il perduto tempo, e le solinghe e lunghe notti che hanno trapassate ne' vedovi letti: però queste siano amate piuttosto, secondo il nostro parere, da coloro in cui libertà in sottometterai dimora.

From this well-considered utterance one cannot avoid at least a preliminary inference that the widowhood conferred upon Criseida represents not so much Boccaccio's attempt to allegorize the married state of Maria d'Aquino as his desire to portray an ideal amie. The vedova is superior to the maritata in her freedom from matrimonial entanglement; she surpasses the pulcella in her erotic desire and her immediate aptitude for an amour.⁴⁷ It would appear, then, that the attributes of the ideal mistress are completely present not in the wedded Maria of actual fact, but in the widowed Criseida of allegorical fiction.

Bearing in mind, then, the broad attributes of Boccaccio's ideal amie, as expounded in Filocolo, let us examine this ideal in the light of the doctrines of courtly love. It is obvious, in the first place, that the treatise of Andreas shows no exclusive preference for the widow, her problems receiving only incidental consideration. In the De Amore there is nothing approaching the argument quoted above from Filocolo. On the other hand we have ample evidence that the widow, though not the lady par excellence of courtly love, is

[&]quot;Opere Volgari, VIII: 94-96.

[&]quot;The superiority of the vedova to the pulcella is expressed also in Boccaccio's Rime, No. CI. The poet addresses to Antonio Pucci a question as to which a man should choose as his partner in an amour, a maid or a widow. The reply gives preference to the widow in the following words (Opere Volgari, XVI: 99):

Chi di fanciulla vergine innamora.
Con, dubbio segue gli sembianti suoi,
Perchè di rado attien quel che prometta.
Ond' io ti dico, come padre a figlio,
Che per la viduetta lasci il giglio.

See Crescini, Contributo, p. 166; Rajna, p. 54; Wilkins, p. 48, n. 1. Andreas, 168-170, 172-174, 285-287, 310 (Rule VII).

entirely acceptable to the code. Andreas gives attention, indeed, to two sorts of widowhood. In the first place, he treats the case of the lady bereaved through the death of her lover, prescribing that a period of two years must elapse before she may engage again in the militia amoris. 40 But this case cannot be cited as bearing upon that of Criseida, 50 since her viduitas arises from the loss, not of a lover, but of a husband. This second sort of widowhood Andreas discusses at some length in the important conversation entitled Loquitur nobilior nobiliori.51 The lady in this colloquy resists her suitor on the ground that her sadness over the death of her husband forbids worldly pleasures.52 The suitor, however, explains that the "legal" period prescribed for mourning a husband is short: merely such time as is required for the quieting of the turbatio sanguinis in the widow; 53 and he suggests further not only that after this period she is free to receive a lover, but also that she probably needs the healing satisfactions of love:

Amor enim est, qui dolorum claustra disrumpit et laeta solus meruit gaudia subrogare et suavia delectationis solatia ministrare. Res est igitur amor ab omnibus appetenda et a cunctis diligenda per orbem, qui universorum meruit tristitiam propulsare et alacritatis statum cuilibet reformare.⁵⁴

ma poichè 'l mio sposo
Tolto mi fu, sempre la voglia mia
D' amore fu lontana, ed ho doglioso
Il cuore ancor della sua morte ria.
(F4. II: 49, 3-6)

Chaucer ignores this passage. See below, p. 386.

⁴⁸Biennalis viduitas pro amante defuncto superstiti praescribitur amanti (Andreas, p. 310, Rule VII. Cf. pp. 168-170).

so It may be observed, incidentally, that the length of the period of Criseida's widowhood is unknown to us. The tone of the following passage suggests that it may have been considerable:

⁸¹ Andreas, pp. 155-219.

²² Viduitas tamen et optimi amissi mariti tristitia omnia mihi vitae solatia contradicunt (Andreas, p. 172).

¹⁰⁰ Lex quidem humana luctus tempora mulieribus observanda praefixit non quasi earum volens infirmitati consulere sed humani generis cupiens providere utilitati, ut sanguinis non posset provenire turbatio vel diversorum simul genera commisceri. Nam, ubi cessaret turbatio sanguinis, evidenter permisit apostolus mortuo viro alterius statim nuptias contrahere (Andreas, p. 174).

⁴ Andreas, p. 173.

From this passage we may infer that, although the courtly code shows for the widow no distinctive preference, it does recognize in her an erotic aptitude related to that for which she is commended in Questione IX of *Filocolo*.

For the other broad attribute of Boccaccio's ideal amie,—her freedom from matrimonial entanglement,—we find in the code of Andreas no support at all. On the contrary, Boccaccio's discrimination against the married woman constitutes a significant divergence from the courtly code, for among the formal rules we find the following: Causa coniugii ab amore non est excusatio recta.⁵⁵ The fact is that Andreas amply recognizes, and approves, the adulterous amours of married women.⁵⁶

It is clear, then, that Boccaccio's preference for the widow as the ideal partner in an amour could have been inspired only in small part by the requirements of the courtly system. His choice was either his own, or it was suggested by some courtly predecessor who observed a less ample code than that of Andreas. It should be remembered, nevertheless, that however alien the reasons for Boccaccio's choice may have been, the result of it may still be fully adequate to the circumstances of courtly love. Although the courtly code clearly discredits Boccaccio's aversion to the married woman, it can still readily accept, for its own purposes, the amorous widow of his preference. Let us, then, review the considerations connected with widowhood in Filostrato, in order to observe both the author's adherence to the ideal set forth in Filocolo, and the eventual effect of this adherence upon the element of courtly love in the poem. In the course of this review, and after it, we may consider also the related matters in Chaucer's poem.

At the beginning of their narratives the two poets are equally definite in mentioning the heroine's status.⁵⁷ In Fü-ostrato the circumstance of widowhood is next brought for-



⁴⁵ Andreas, p. 310 (Rule I).

^{*} See Andreas, pp. 141-143, 280.

[#] See Fil., I: 11, 8; T. and C., I: 97.

ward in the following trenchant stanza from the lips of Pandaro:

Io credo certo, ch' ogni donna in voglia Viva amorosa, e null' altro l' affrena Che tema di vergogna; e se a tal doglia, Onestamente medicina piena Si può donar, folle è chi non la spoglia, E poco parmi gli cuoca la pena. La mia cugina è vedova, e disia; E se 'l negasse nol gliel crederia.⁵⁶

Pandaro here enunciates a creed of sheer sensuality. He not only asserts that all women are sensually inclined, but in one line,

La mia cugina è vedova, e desia,

he also clearly implies that this inclination is especially marked in a widow, such as Criseida. This serious utterance from Pandaro seems to confirm the evidence from Filocolo as to one reason for Criseida's being created a widow: namely, the erotic desire and aptitude of the bereaved woman. Chaucer's transformation of the Italian stanza is seen in the following lines:

And wostow why I am the lasse afered Of this matere with my nece trete? For this have I herd seyd of wyse y-lered, "Was never man ne woman yet bigete That was unapt to suffren loves hete Celestial, or elles love of kinde;" For-thy som grace I hope in hir to finde.

And for to speke of hir in special,
Hir beautee to bithinken and hir youthe,
It sit hir nought to be celestial
As yet, though that hir liste bothe and couthe;
But trewely, it sete hir wel right nouthe
A worthy knight to loven and cheryce,
And but she do, I holde it for a vyce.

[■] Fa., II: 27.

T. and C., I: 974-987.

One scarcely need comment upon the subtlety with which Chaucer refines away Boccaccio's suggestion of sensuality.

We encounter the fact of widowhood again when, in her first parrying with Pandaro, Criseida refers directly to her deceased husband as follows:

> Tentimi tu, o parli daddovero, Griseida disse, o se' del senno uscito? Chi deve aver di me piacere intero Se già non divenisse mio marito?

Her mood is continued, a few stanzas later, in the following vein:

Poichè 'l mio sposo
Tolto mi fu, sempre la voglia mia
D' amore fu lontana, ed ho doglioso
Il cuore ancor della sua morte ria,
Ed avrò sempre mentre sarò in vita,
Tornandomi a memoria sua partita.

The first of these demure utterances Chaucer certainly omits; and if the second passage is reflected at all in the English poem, it is in the following lines spoken by Criseyde in the course of a merry bout with Pandarus:

'A! god forbede!' quod she, 'be ye mad?
Is that a widewes lyf, so god you save?
By god, ye maken me right sore a-drad,
Ye ben so wilde, it semeth as ye rave!
It sete me wel bet ay in a cave
To bidde, and rede on holy seyntes lyves:
Lat maydens gon to daunce, and yonge wyves.

Pursuing the conversation of Criscida with Pandaro, we



[©] On the relation of "earthly" love to "heavenly" see Wechssler, pp. 242-432, 406-433; P. Rousselot, Pour l'histoire du probleme de l'amour su moyen age, Munster, 1908.

⁴ Fil., II: 45, 1-4.

^{##} Fil. II: 49. 8-8.

e T. and C., II: 113-119. See Cummings, p. 54. For this English passage Rossetti (p. 45) indicates no parallel whatever in Filostrato. Nor does Rossetti (pp. 52, 56) find in Troilus a parallel for either of the Italian passages before us.

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find him assuring her that to a youthful widow the way to an amour is open:

Ed a te stando in vestimento bruno, Giovane ancora, d'amar si concede."

It is remotely possible that these lines may be considered the basis of a vivacious transformation in the following English lines:

> But yet, I seye, aryseth, lat us daunce, And cast your widwes habit to mischaunce: What list yow thus your-self to disfigure, Sith yow is tid thus fair an aventure?

In her reflections after Pandaro's departure Criscida muses upon her widow's freedom as follows:

Io son giovane, bella, vaga e lieta, Vedova, ricca, nobile ed amata, Senza figliuoli ed in vita quieta, Perchè esser non deggio innamorata?**

It may well be maintained that this passage shows the influence of Boccaccio's conception of the *unattached* widow as the ideal *amie*. From hints in the Italian lines Chaucer creates the following tart utterance of Criseyde:

I am myn owene woman, wel at ese,
I thanke it god, as after myn estat;
Right yong, and stonde unteyd in lusty lese,
With-outen jalousye or swich debat;
Shal noon housbonde seyn to me "chek-mat!"
For either they ben ful of jalousye,
Or maisterful, or loven novelrye."

Although Chaucer eliminates the explicit mention of widowhood, he enforces the consideration of Criseyde's freedom from matrimonial restraint.

⁴ F4., II: 54, 5−6.

^{**} T. and C., II: 221-224. For these English lines neither Rossetti (p. 49) nor Cummings (p. 54) suggests a parallel in Flostiato,—nor do I press my own suggestion.

[●] F4L, II: 69, 1-4.

[&]quot; T. and C., II: 750-756.

Both poems now drop the consideration of widowhood from view until Boccaccio revives it on the eve of Criseida's separation from Troilo, when she soliloquizes,

> Or vedova sarò io daddovero, Poichè da te dipartir mi conviene, Cuor del mio corpo, e 'l vestimento nero Ver testimonio fia delle mie pene."

This passage Chaucer ignores. The two authors agree, finally, in allowing the heroine a mention of her former husband to Diomede. ••

From the indications disclosed in this review it appears that the widowed heroine of Filostrato conforms to the ideal of erotic desire and adventurous freedom expounded in Filocolo; and we may now fully assent to the view that Boccaccio was asserting this ideal when he transformed the pucele of Benoit into the vedova of Filostrato. It will appear also that in certain aspects of her widowhood the English heroine differs substantially from her predecessor, and that these differences arise not from the mere fact that Criseyde's widowed state receives less frequent and less sober mention, but rather from an essential divergence in rôle and character.

In the first place Chaucer is less thorough-going in absolving the heroine from family obligations. Although Criseyde, like Criseida, comments with precision upon her independence of conjugal restraint, her freedom from certain other family responsibilities is left in doubt. Boccaccio explicitly assures us twice that Criseida has no children. In the course of his explanation of her situation in Troy after the departure of her father he writes,

nè calere Le bisognava di figlio o di figlia, Come a colei che mai nessuno avere N' avea potuto.**

[■] Fil., IV: 90, 1-4.

[₱] F41., VI: 29, 1-8; T. and C., V: 974-978.

[™] Fa., I: 15, 4-7.

Chaucer, on the other hand, deliberately mystifies us with the following:

But whether that she children hadde or noon, I rede it nought; therfore I lete it goon."

At a later, and critical, moment in the poem, when Criseida is revolving in her mind the inducements and deterrents arising from the proposed amour, she reflects with explicit satisfaction upon her childlessness:

Io son giovane, bella, vaga e lieta, Vedova, ricca, nobile ed amata, Sensa figliuoli ed in vita quieta.²²

At this point Chaucer is following his source with some particularity;⁷⁸ yet he deliberately avoids the question of Criseyde's children.

Although Chaucer's specific reason for suppressing these assurances in *Filostrato* probably cannot be demonstrated, one surmises that he finds a genial pleasure in mystifying the reader, ⁷⁴ and in adding further to the elusiveness of his heroine. From the point of view of courtly love it cannot, perhaps, be urged that the difference between the two poems on this particular point is of capital importance. Although Andreas makes full provision for the extra-matrimonial adventures of the married woman, and for the amours of the widow, he does not consider the matter of maternal obligation. From his silence, therefore, without positive proof, one infers that he is assuming the absence of children. As to Boccaccio's motive in absolving Criseida definitively from maternal obligation there can scarcely be a doubt: he wished to endow her, the ideal mistress, ⁷⁵ with complete freedom for

¹¹ T. and C., I: 132-133.

[&]quot; Fil., II: 69, 1-3.

⁷³ See Cummings, pp. 56-57.

[&]quot;In his formula, "I rede it nought", Chaucer is apparently resorting to his favored, and successful, device of pretending marked fidelity to written authority (see G. L. Kittredge, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVIII: 56ff). But the device of reference to authority would have been equally successful if Chaucer had reported the truth.

¹⁵ Ideal, that is to say, in her circumstances; not ideal, of course, in her infidelity.

amorous enterprise. And in this particular sort of freedom Criseida seems not only to satisfy Boccaccio's own ideal, but also to approach nearer than does the English heroine to the demands of modern taste and, possibly, nearer to the somewhat vague decorum of courtly love.

But the difference between the two poems in the securing of unencumbered action for the heroine is less important than the difference between their treatments of her physical desire. Of Criseida's erotic ardor we know not only through Pandaro's assurance, quoted above, to but also through the thoughts and utterance of the young widow herself. Her passionate reflections upon her first letter from Troilo,—reflections presented at length by Boccaccio, to—include such expressions as the following:

a spegner questo foco Conviene a me trovare il tempo e 'l loco:

or foss' io nelle braccia.

Dolci di lui, stretta a faccia a faccia!"

Such erotic indulgence as this Chaucer dismisses in the reticent lines,

Avysed word by word in every lyne, And fond no lak, she thought he coude good.**

Neither here nor elsewhere in the poem does Criseyde disclose, or suggest, the physical passion that Boccaccio bestows upon his heroine without reserve.⁸⁰

It may fairly be contended that the difference between the two poems in this matter amounts to a divergence in their treatment of the element of courtly love. The courtly code imposes a strenuous restraint upon sensuality, and denies the

⁷⁶ See above, p. 385.

[&]quot; Fil., II: 114, 5-117, 8.

[&]quot; FU, II: 115, 7-8; 117, 7-8.

[™] T. and C., II: 1177-1178.

^{**}Compare the erotic disclosures of Criseida's first letter of seven stanzas (F4., II: 121-127) with Chaucer's colorless summary of five lines (T. and C., II: 1221-1225); and note the passionate directness with which Criseida manages the events of her first night with Troilo (See Young. Origin and Development, 140ff.)

possibility of love to the voluptuous;⁸¹ hence Criseida's passion, in so far as it exceeds the bounds of moderation, condemns itself.⁸²

Closely associated, however, with Criseida's preponderance of physical desire are certain special aptitudes of hers which are absent from Criseyde, and which establish the Italian heroine in the full favor of the courtly system. No statute of the courtly code is more characteristic and trenchant than this: that love cannot exist between persons who are united in matrimony; and none of Criseida's traits is more distinctive than her explicit enunciation of this law. Let us, then, observe the divergencies between the two heroines in this respect.

As we have already observed, in their first resistance to the go-between's proposal of an *amour*, both Criseida and Criseyde refer, with more or less feeling, to their deceased husbands; and Criseida, in an utterance that Chaucer ignores, goes so far as to suggest that, for her, love is conceivable only in the conjugal relation:

> Chi deve aver di me piacere intero Se già non divenisse mio marito?**

²¹ Nimia voluptatis abundantia impedit amorem, quia sunt quidam, qui tanta voluptatis cupidine detinentur, quod amoris non possunt retineri reticulis; qui post multas etiam de muliere cogitationes habitas vel fructus assumptos, postquam aliam vident, statim illius concupiscunt amplexus et obsequii a priore amante suscepti obliviosi et ingrati exsistunt. Illi tales, quot vident, tot cupiunt libidini immisceri. Istorum talis amorest, qualis est canis impudici (Andreas, p. 18). See p. 106, Rules VIII and XII.

No Probably most readers of Filostrato will recall the impression of Criseida's voluptuousness arising from Stanza 32 of Part III. Without reference to its possible bearing upon the element of courtly love, this trait of voluptuousness is commented upon by such writers as the following: L. Moland et C. D'Héricault, Nouvelles françoises en prose du XIV siècle, Paris, 1858, p. xcii; M. Bardelli, Qualche contributo agli studi sulle relasioni del Chaucer col Boccaccio, Florence, 1911, 34-35: E. Legouis, Geoffrey Chaucer (trans. by Lallavoix), London, 1913, 126. Savj-Lopez (Romania, XXVII: 471) seems to reckon this as among the traits that exclude Criseida from consideration as a heroine under the ideals of courtly love.

^{**}Andreas reports the following famous declaration as made by the Countess of Champagne: 'Dicimus enim et stabilito tenore firmamus, amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires' (Andreas, p. 153). See also Andreas, pp. 141, 172, 249, 280, 290.

M Fil., II: 45, 8-4. See above, p. 386.

But in this utterance Criscida is either expressing merely a first naive response to Pandaro's bold proposal, or she is screening her real curiosity concerning the half-disclosed adventure; for in her reflections after Pandaro's departure she presents to herself the following intense conception:

Ed ora non è tempo da marito, E se pur fosse, la sua libertade Servare è troppo più savio partito; L'amor che vien da si fatta amistade E sempre dagli amanti più gradito; E sia quanto vuol grande la beltade, Che a' mariti tosto non rincresca, Vaghi d' avere ogni di cosa fresca.

L'acqua furtiva, assai più dolce cosa È che il vin con abbondanza avuto: Così d'amor la gioia, che nascosa Trapassa assai, del sempre mai tenuto Marito in braccio; adunque vigorosa Ricevi il dolce amante, il qual venuto T'è fermamente mandato da Dio, E sodisfa' al suo caldo disio."

The significance of these stanzas lies not in their contradiction of Criseida's previous protestation concerning a husband, but in their assertion of the conviction that the dwindling emotions of the conjugal relation are to be disparaged in favor of the passionate satisfaction of the secret amour. This assertion penetrates to the center of the conception of courtly love, so and Chaucer's deliberate omission of it is noteworthy. 87

Firmly imbedded in Criseida's reflection just quoted is the notion that an essential zest in erotic adventure arises from secrecy, from the evasion of obstacles, and from temporary separations. The courtly code, indeed, conceives of the very tranquility of the marriage relation, or of any unimpeded

^{**} Fil., II: 78-74.

^{**} Crescini (Contributo, p. 193) notes the relation of these Italian stanzas to the doctrine of courtly love.

[&]quot;See my review of Dodd, in Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol., XV: 160.

union, as being fatal to the existence of love. This particular aspect of l'amour courtois is specifically reflected in one of the later utterances of the Italian heroine. In the course of the last intimate conversation of the lovers, Troilo proposes, as one of his desperate remedies, that he and Criseida flee to some distant spot where their love may continue without interruption. This proposal Criseida rejects not only upon the ground that flight would do both lovers dishonor, but also for a more fundamental reason, expressed as follows:

Ed oltre a questo, vo' che tu riguardi A ciò che quasi d' ogni cosa avviene; Non è cosa si vil, se ben si guardi, Che non si faccia disiar con pene, E quanto più di possederla ardi, Più tosto abominio nel cor ti viene, Se larga potestade di vederla Fatta ti fia, e ancor di ritenerla.

Il nostro amor, che cotanto ti piace, è perchè far convien furtivamente, E di rado venire a questa pace; Ma se tu m' averai liberamente, Tosto si spegnerà l' ardente face Ch' ora t' accende, e me similemente; Perchè se 'l nostro amor vogliam che duri, Com' or facciam, convien sempre si furi."

In these words Criseida is once more expressing the essence of courtly love, and in deliberately omitting them⁹² Chaucer is practicing a characteristic suppression.⁹³

In our comparison of the two poems with respect to the widowhood of the heroines, and their attitude toward marriage, we have observed that Chaucer has notably altered

si Facilis perceptio contemptibilem reddit amorem, difficilis eum carum facit haberi (Andreas, p. 310, Rule XIV). See also Andreas, 138-140, 242, 245.

[™] See F(L, IV: 144-145.

^{*} See Fil, IV: 147-151.

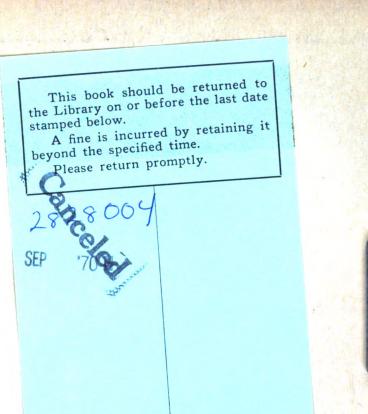
[&]quot; Fil., IV: 152-153; See Crescini, Contributo, p. 193.

^{**} Chaucer's deliberation appears in the fact that in this part of his poem he is following *Pilostrato* closely. See Cummings, p. 75.

²⁰ See my review of Dodd, in Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil., XV: 160-161.

Boccaccio's ideal. Through his professed ignorance in regard to Criseyde's freedom from maternal obligation, Chaucer has cast a certain elusiveness over her character, but he has not fundamentally altered her eligibility for the courtly amour. In minimizing the sheer physical passion of his heroine, however, he has actually enhanced her courtly status. On the other hand, in suppressing Criseida's erotic insistence upon the furtive aspect of her indulgence, Chaucer deliberately removes from his poem a palpable element of courtly love. This particular relaxation of the code, however, is not to be interpreted as indicating a substantial or pervasive renunciation of the courtly tradition; for it can be shown abundantly that in the essential circumstances and behavior of his heroine Chaucer maintains and enhances the elements of courtly love inherent in the poem of his predecessor.⁹⁴

It appears that this comprehensive demonstration has not yet been completely made. Although Dodd surveys the element of courtly love in the English poem, he undertakes no thorough-going examination of the same element in *Filostrato*; hence he is in no position for appraising Chaucer's alterations. Cummings makes an admirable comparison of the two poems from several points of view, but his consideration of the element of courtly love is, avowedly, incidental and incomplete.



AAL TO MAL



